Blood & Memory:

Victorian colonial death, memorial practices, and the dynamics of local society at Christchurch's Addington Cemetery.

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology

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2019

ABSTRACT

Contemporary researchers have pointed out that while historians and archaeologists are both interested in the behaviour and lives of those in the past their various research approaches are often disconnected from one another. Better integration of the study of the material remnants of ancient, historic, and even contemporary cemeteries with the available primary and secondary sources will help deepen our understanding of the lives and deaths of those in the past. This research takes focus on Addington Cemetery as a place that has local, national, and transnational connections and significance. This thesis explores and reveals attitudes towards death, memorial practices, and the dynamics of local society in Victorian and early Edwardian Christchurch through a close analysis of the remnant landscape of Addington Cemetery. I focus on three key areas; displays of colonial ethnic roots, the significance of the colonial family unit as seen in the cemetery's memorials, and the harsh reality of colonial life seen in the scale of children's deaths recorded on memorials. This is an exploratory study that aims to reiterate what was intended by those that erected memorials at Addington Cemetery and display the important, although sometimes conflicting, views towards Christian beliefs about life, death, and notions of eternal life. By linking the historical and anthropological studies of death to the archaeology of the cemetery this thesis will begin to provide new understandings of colonial life and death.

Keywords; Addington, Cemetery, children, Christchurch, death, ethnicity, family, graves, memorial, Victorian.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisors Lyndon Fraser and Zhifang Song for their ongoing support throughout the process of producing this thesis. Your knowledge and understanding were indispensable. I also extend my thanks to the department and staff of sociology and anthropology.

I would also like to thank my Family. Thanks to my brother Richard for always being there when his big brother needed him most. Brothers can and have conquered the world together. Thanks to my sister Lynette for your confidence in me achieving my goals. Also, I thank my mother, I know you always did the best you could with the circumstances life and death have presented us as a family.

I'd also like to thank my friends and peers I have studied alongside in the sociology and anthropology department. We often bicker, regularly offend, and constantly disagree but no one died. Further, we always forgive, try to understand, and grow as people and intellectuals. Thanks and best of luck in your current and future projects.

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Chapter One: Introduction

In an important new work entitled *The Work of the dead,* Thomas Laqueur notes that Diogenes the cynic, Karl Marx, and Jesus insisted that the living should not concern themselves with the dead and that the dead should 'bury the dead'.[1] But, as Laqueur shows, the cemeteries of the early nineteenth century, and those that followed, were anything but places without connection to the living.[2] In asking the question of 'Do the dead matter?' rationality might cause many to take a position similar to Diogenes, his body of little consequence to him after death.[3] But most do not share such feelings of indifference towards the dead. There are numerous reasons as to why we might want or need to care about what happens to the dead. Such feelings could be borne out of love, respect, empathy, sympathy, and even in some cases of association to the darker side of human emotion like anger and hatred. "Emotion is at the core of human experience" and such responses are dependent on contextual and variable cultural meanings and social understandings.[4] Interest towards the dead might be culturally and religiously motivated or be just seen as an effective means of disposing of a soon to be decomposing corpse. The fact remains that we do care about the dead because the dead do matter.

Death is a transitional phase of loss and adjustment, entailing ritualised social practices that are materialised through the use of material objects, visual images, and written text.[5] Thoughts and images conceived by living people are sustained through the use

[1] Thomas Walter Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains,* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015): 211.
[2] Ibid, 211-212.
[3] Ibid, 1.
[4] Sarah Tarlow, "The archaeology of Emotion and Affect", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42, no. 41 (2012): 180; Sarah Tarlow, "Emotion in Archaeology", *Current Anthropology* 41, no. 5 (2000): 718 & 728.
[5] Elizabeth Hallam & Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture, (*New York Oxford; Berg, 2001): 1.

of external cultural forms of mementoes, memorials, words, and artefacts.[6] Relations between these internal and external states are subject to change through time, in response to cross-cultural variation, and can reflect broader social orientations and attitudes.[7] The practice of marking graves with stone is a feature of the burial landscapes of many cultures.[8] The most common form of monument in colonial New Zealand, for example, is the upright headstone, which is based on British and Irish models.[9] These are bigger, bolder, and often more elaborate than the forms used in modern cemeteries.[10] The materials used varied greatly during the nineteenth century, a stark contrast to the almost universal use of black marble in modern memorials.[11]

Memories, from the perspective of contemporary Western society, are conceived as possessions that we 'keep' and 'preserve' almost as if objects in our personal museums of recollection.[12] Cemeteries to some extent resemble museums in that they house the memories of the surrounding city and its suburbs. Some of the oldest surviving man-made structures have been built as memorials for the dead. Megalithic constructions like the Great Pyramids of Giza communicate information about the lives and societies of the ancient Egyptians to people living thousands of years after their deaths. Even more recent interpretations of prehistoric Britain's Stonehenge suggests that it may not have been a place in commemoration of summer and life as was once thought but more likely of winter

[6] Ibid, 4.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Katrina Simon, "Death Memory, Text: Reading the Landscape of Remembrance" *Landscape Review,* 2, no. 3 (1996): 17.
[9] Stephen Deed, *Unearthly landscapes: New Zealand's early cemeteries, churchyards and urupā* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2015): 174.
[10] Ibid, 170.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Hallam & Hockey, 3.

and death.[13] From tombs dominating landscapes that were the scene of ancient civilisations to the small white cross or bouquet of flowers on the corner of a rural New Zealand road today there are reminders of the dead. They are, as French historian Pierre Nora phrased it, *lieux de mémoire* – sites of memory.[14]

Research aim and focus

This thesis examines the remnant landscape of Christchurch's historic Addington Cemetery which is a site of both individual and collective social memories. It seeks to uncover attitudes towards death, memorial practices, and the dynamics of local society in Victorian and early Edwardian Christchurch. My central focus is on how the symbolic and written forms of monuments at the Addington Cemetery convey memory, history, and tell the story of life in colonial Christchurch. There is a rich use of symbolic gesture in monuments, inscriptions, and plants that reflects the social and cultural preferences of the time. Predominantly they articulate variously and sometimes conflicting Christian beliefs about life, death, and notions of eternal life.[15] These elements give Addington Cemetery local, national, and transnational connections and significance.

I have drawn on a range of sources to supplement the gravestones that form the foundational database for the study from wills, death certificates, letters, historic newspapers, biographies, and existing scholarly work. In what follows I will focus on three reoccurring themes represented on memorials at Addington Cemetery; ethnicity, family, and children. I argue that the use of inscription and symbolism of memorials at Addington

[13] Christie Willis, et al., "The Dead of Stonehenge", *Antiquity,* 90, no. 350 (2016): 337-356.
[14] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and history: Les Lieus De Mémoire", *Representations,* 26, no. 1 (1989): 7.
[15] Robyn Burgess, David McKenzie, & Jenny May, "Conservation Plan Addington Cemetery", October, 2005. https://ccc.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Culture-Community/Heritage/AddingtonCemeteryConservationPlan2005-10-01.pdf, 48.

Cemetery conveys the importance that the ethnic roots of those interred played in creating and reinforcing identity and a sense of belonging. I suggest that memorials display the importance of the family unit in colonial thought and endeavours. Finally, I contend that memorials give insights into how colonials dealt with the scale of children's deaths, that were so common during the period under consideration, and the role religion played in providing methods of coping.

Sarah Tarlow notes that before the 1960s focus in mortuary studies tended to be more on divisions between people and less on those within social groups.[16] Archaeologists and historians have jointly pursued the latter subsequently and both face barriers in attempting to understand the emotions of those in the past.[17] Tarlow points out divisions in the approach to the study of death by scholars are impossible to maintain as the various areas of focus often inform one another.[18] In his work on death in colonial New Zealand and Australia, Lyndon Fraser has noted the depth that analysis of the material remnants adds to our understanding of remembrance and commemoration.[19] Alexander Trapeznik and Austin Gee have noted that there is still much to be done in linking historical and anthropological studies of death to the archaeology of cemeteries and the impact of religion on colonial deathways.[20] I intend to begin this task with this thesis. A cemetery is a place where various social dualisms are on display: memory and history; public and private; head and heart; life

[16] Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality,* (Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass;: Blackwell Publishers, 1999): 10.
[17] Tarlow, 2012, 179.
[18] Tarlow, 1999, 8.
[19] Lyndon Fraser, "Memory, Mourning and Melancholy: English Ways of Death on the Margins of Empire" in *Far from 'Home': The English in New Zealand,* ed. Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2012): 155-119; & "Death in nineteenth-century Australia and New Zealand", *History Compass,* 15, no. 7 (2017): 11.
[20] Alexander Trapeznik & Austin Gee, "Laying the Victorians to Rest: Funerals, Memorials, and the Funeral Business in Nineteenth-Century Otago" *Australian Economic History Review,* 56, no. 3 (2016): 320; Fraser 2017, 11.

and death; and the material and the symbolic. The study of memorials in cemeteries offers a unique perspective in the study of material culture as they can allow for exploration of both inscribed texts and their material form.[21] In this way, this thesis will provide a new understanding of memorials in Addington Cemetery in their contemporary setting through a reiteration of what they tell us about colonial life and death.

Research area

The cemetery at the heart of this thesis is located in the southern suburb of Addington bordering the current Central Business District of Christchurch. Prior to the arrival of Europeans the land on which the suburb of Addington was built was open grassland with numerous small waterways, swamps, and shrubbery.[22] Although there are no known pre-European archaeological sites or artefacts recorded in the area the land was used as mahinga kai, a food gathering area, by local Māori for generations.[23] While there are no known references to the land that is now Addington in the traditions of Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe, or Ngāi Tahu, the iwi –tribe– that had successive mana whenua, it is close to trail systems that linked pā with resource areas exploited before European settlement.[24] The Ngāi Tahu *Atlas – Cultural Mapping Project – Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu* shows the traditional kāinga mahinga kai areas of Puāri and Ōtautahi were located just north of Addington Cemetery and provides an excellent map of the geographic location of the cemetery.[25]

[21] Harold Mytum, "Beyond Famous Men and Women: Interpreting Historic Burial Grounds and Cemeteries" in *Past meets present: Archaeologists partnering with museum curators, teachers, and community groups,* ed. John H. Jameson, Jr and Sherene Baugher (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2007): 421.
[22] John Wilson, *Local Lives: A History of Addington,* (Christchurch, [New Zealand]: Addington Neighbourhood Association, 2018): 13.
[23] For more on Tangata Whenua see Wilson J., 13.
[24] Wilson J., 13.
[25] "Atlas – Cultural Mapping Project – Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu", Ngāi Tahu, accessed August 25, 2019, http://www.kahurumanu.co.nz/atlas.

The cemetery is situated at what is today 410 Selwyn Street and borders a light industrial and commercial area along the railway, the concrete cylinder block walls of the commercial buildings providing the northern wall, and the property fences of residences do so on the southern side.[26] Formerly the frontage on Selwyn Street was faced with a high corrugated iron fence until the Council replaced it with the current low concrete wall and post and chain fence in 1989 shown in photograph 1 of appendix 2.[27] On opening, the new burial ground was initially known as the Scotch Cemetery, a link to St Andrew's Church, and was advertised as being open to the public in the *Lyttelton Times* on 6 December 1858.[28] Although St Andrew's Presbyterian Church originally owned the cemetery, it became the first public cemetery in the city.[29] The five acres that make up the cemetery were purchased by the church from John R. Buchanan who had been transferred fifty acres in what was Rural Section 66 by his mother on his arrival from England in 1855 at the age of sixteen.[30] John Buchanan was himself buried at Addington Cemetery in 1925.[31] The cemetery was open to all denominations and was even consecrated by the Anglican bishop.[32] Unlike other cemeteries of this period, such as Barbadoes Street Cemetery, there were no attempts to group plots by denomination.[33] Internment was permitted to "all persons of any religious community and to the performances of any religious service at the burial, not contrary to public decency and good order".[34]

[26] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 40 & 42.
[27] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 14; Appendix 2, Photograph 1.
[28] Lyttelton Times 1858, cited in Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 8.
[29] Greenaway, 2.
[30] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 7; Greenaway, 2.
[31] Wilson J., 221.
[32] Alexander Trapeznik & Austin Gee, ""Each in his narrow cell for ever laid": Dunedin's Southern Cemetery and its New Zealand Counterparts," *Public History Review,* 20, (2013): 47.
[33] Greenaway, 2.
[34] Lyttelton Times 1858, cited in Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 8.

As the first public cemetery and the third oldest European cemetery in Christchurch, after Barbadoes Street Cemetery (1851) and Woolston Cemetery (1852), Addington Cemetery is a place of great historical and social significance.[35] The site is remarkably well preserved, despite the vicissitudes of time, weather, and earthquakes, largely owing to the commemorative importance to descendants of those buried there and the social and historical significance of individuals like the prominent activist and suffragette Kate Sheppard.[36] Most of those buried at Addington are either nineteenth-century migrants from Britain and Ireland or their direct descendants; there were a few Chinese migrants interred although surviving grave markers are scarce. Ngāi Tahu, the local iwi, opted to make use of their traditional urupā sites or burial grounds close to churches or marae.[37]

Death was confronted far more frequently and directly in this period than in the present day.[38] Children died young and frequently, fathers and mothers were often left to raise numerous children alone after the death of their spouse, or, in rare cases death removed whole families. Before European contact in 1769 Aotearoa was relatively free from infectious disease, however, Atholl Anderson has argued that tuberculosis was present in the indigenous populations prior to this.[39] Missionaries, whalers, sealers, sailors, and migrants brought with them many new diseases such as typhoid, scarlet fever, gonorrhoea, measles, rubella, mumps, smallpox, cowpox, chickenpox, and influenza.[40] In later periods plumbing and water supplies of colonial houses and towns facilitated increased risk and

[35] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 47.
[36] Ibid, 48.
[37] For more on Urupā see Deed, 2015, 129.
[38] Fraser, 2017, 1.
[39] Deed, 54; Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, & Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015): 32.
[40] Gluckman cited in Deed, 54

spread of disease with corresponding rises in mortality rates.[41] Death was everywhere on the edges of empire, "It carried away young and old, rich and poor, indigene and migrant– but never equally, and with a force that is difficult to comprehend from our privileged vantage point".[42] The memorials at Addington Cemetery shed light on the stories of families, individuals, and life and death in colonial Canterbury. Not only is Addington the final resting place of many notable New Zealanders like the Deans family of Riccarton and the aforementioned suffragist Kate Sheppard, but also ordinary citizens.[43]

Death and dying in Victorian and early Edwardian society

Thomas Laqueur gives an account of the cultural history of mortal remains in his book *The Work of the Dead* providing a 'necrogeography' of modern cemeteries and of how historians have previously explained the succession of the cemetery over the old churchyards.[44] The Laqueur states "the dead in the churchyard were central to the whole great story of resurrection and redemption" but "Death in the modern world is not so easily fitted into a narrative".[45] Death defies change and cemeteries speak the language of finality, although some may hold beliefs of life after death or mind over matter concepts of immortality, cemeteries speak the language of finality.[46] Such views are expressed through varying ways of dying and ways of remembering the dead by the living. A thorough understanding of the colonial ways of dying, or deathways, both in New Zealand and elsewhere in the colonial world during the Victorian and early Edwardian period is therefore necessary. 'Deathways' is a term used by historians and death scholars "to capture the

[41] Deed, 54.
[42] Fraser, 2017, 2.
[43] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 4 & 47.
[44] Laqueur, 2015.
[45] Ibid, 215.
[46] Ibid.

diversity of mortuary beliefs and practices, including ideas about the afterlife, relations with the dead, the preparation of corpses, funerary commerce, burial ceremonies, and rites of commemorations and remembrance".[47]

Largely this is an empirical study that draws on and is informed by the existing work and approaches by scholars. Victorian deathways in New Zealand have received some attention from scholars. Lyndon Fraser, for example, has examined the responses of migrant English Victorians in New Zealand, primarily in the Canterbury and Nelson settlements, towards death and dying in *Memory, Mourning and Melancholy: English Ways of Death on the Margins of Empire*.[48] Drawing on sources such as wills, letters, and *mementos mori* (reminders of death), to name a few, Fraser establishes how deathways were influenced by class, gender, age, denomination, location, and time.[49] His more recent work has analysed death, grief, and remembrance in nineteenth-century Australia and New Zealand, including the changing and co-shaping of practices among both indigenous and migrant people.[50]

Stephen Deed provides an overview of this in context to New Zealand with his book *Unearthly Landscapes: New Zealand's early cemeteries, churchyards, and urupā*.[51] The colonisation of New Zealand occurred alongside a change in burial practices in Britain, as the ancient and heavily overcrowded urban churchyards gave way to the use of spacious suburban cemeteries.[52] Katrina Simon's article details how location, layout, tombstones, vegetation, and inscriptions in Victorian cemeteries can be read both literally and

[47] Fraser, 2017, 2; Erik R. Seeman, *Death in the New World: Cross-Cultural Encounters, 1492-1800,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010): 1.
[48] Fraser, 2012, 155-119.
[49] Ibid, 100.
[50] Fraser, 2017.
[51] Deed, 2015.
[52] Ibid, 10.

metaphorically.[53] Philip Edgar's Master of Arts thesis completed in 1995 analysed the choice of gravestones at Dunedin's Southern Cemetery in relation to religious ideologies.[54] Margaret Alington's book *Unquiet Earth: A History of the Bolton Street Cemetery* pays particular attention to the impact of the city of Wellington on the historic cemetery.[55]

Alexander Trapeznik and Austin Gee provide detailed examinations of Victorian cemeteries in nineteenth-century Otago, focusing particularly on Dunedin's Southern Cemetery, with comparisons to other New Zealand cemeteries of the period including Addington Cemetery.[56] Their article, published in 2013, looks at how ethnic and religious settlement impacted on the differences between cemeteries, as well as the topography, various physical features, and treatment of these historic sites.[57] Their more recent work provides insights on the economic practices associated with cemeteries and the funeral business in nineteenth-century Otago and how it was a reflection of the broader society.[58]

As migrants, those memorialised at Addington Cemetery brought with them systems of belief and practices pertaining to death and dying. James Curl provides an overview of the emergence and creation of the cemetery as a Western European tradition.[59] Philippe Ariès focuses more on the intangible aspects associated with historic studies on death and dying.[60] Ariès classic works focused primarily on the changes to Western attitudes towards

[53] Simon, 1996.
[54] Philip G. Edgar "Ideological choice in the gravestones of Dunedin's Southern Cemetery" (Thesis, Master of Arts, University of Otago, 1995).
[55] Margaret H. Alington, *Unquiet Earth: A History of the Bolton Street Cemetery,* (Wellington: Wellington City Council, 1978).
[56] Trapeznik & Gee, 2013; Trapeznik & Gee, 2016.
[57] Trapeznik & Gee, 2013.
[58] Trapeznik & Gee, 2016.
[59] James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to some of the Buildings, Monuments, and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western European Tradition,* (London: Constable, 1980).
[60] Phillippe Ariès *Western attitudes towards death: from the middle ages to the present,* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974); Phillippe Ariès, *The hour of our death,* (London: Allen Lane, 1981).

dying from the Middle-Ages into the twentieth century.[61] Ariès provides a detailed picture of changing practices during the Victorian period, especially concerning memorial practices and the creation of suburban cemeteries like Addington that began to take precedence over the then traditional churchyard burial.[62] He argues that whereas in the Middle Ages death was seen as familiar and not something to be feared – what he calls 'tamed death' – attitudes shifted in the Victorian period towards the view of 'wild death', death as unmentionable, frightening, and no longer a thing of beauty.[63] From his viewpoint, it was such views, beliefs, and sentiments brought from the homelands of the colonials that would have been influential in the planning and creation of the Addington Cemetery and its monuments.

Some British scholars have viewed the studies by Ariès on Victorian deathways to be overly positive and have produced critiqued work in response.[64] In his essay 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain', David Cannadine argues that Victorian deathways have often been excessively romanticised in their study.[65] Far from being "a golden age of psychological support" he highlights the extensive commercial exploitation involved.[66] John Morley viewed romanticism with death as being the primary factor that influenced Victorian emotion and deathways.[67] It was reflected in both fact and fiction, coming primarily from literary sources, which is materialised in the scale of funerary goods and memorabilia.[68] The criticisms of Ariès work highlight the importance that the material

[61] Ariès, 1974 & 1981.
[62] Ariès, 1974.
[63] Ariès, 1974 & 1981.
[64] Fraser, 2017, 8.
[65] David Cannadine, "War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain" in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death,* ed Joachim Whaley (London: Europa, 1981), 187-242.
[66] Cannadine, 191.
[67] John Morley, *Death, heaven and the Victorians,* (London: Studio Vista, 1971).
[68] Ibid, 14.

culture connected to deathways can have towards deepening interpretations in the study of the dead.

Understanding this, the work by Sarah Tarlow on archaeological perspectives in the study of emotion is influential in this thesis.[69] Tarlow notes that there has been an 'emotional turn' in research in the humanities and the social sciences.[70] As put by Tarlow, "A study of the material culture of death can be situated within several traditions, within and beyond archaeology."[71] While emotion might still be thought of as in association to irrationality, Tarlow's is a structured academic approach that considers emotion as the subject and not the method.[72] While this means acknowledgement of the subjective nature of approaches to the study of emotion it is not advocating empathy be considered as methodology.[73] This is particularly important given the method of selecting which memorials to include in this study. Her work looks at how emotion is created and recreated in material practice.

It is integral to establish the context of attitudes towards the death of loved ones and relations within the family that was key in colonial societies. The work by Patricia Jalland has been drawn on and is central towards providing an understanding of the Victorian family unit.[74] Jalland's book *Death in the Victorian Family* analyses case studies of British Victorian families, examining how they dealt with their own death and those of family members.[75] Jalland's work draws on the manuscript collections from fifty-five upper

[69] Tarlow, 1999; 2000, 713-746; & 2012, 169-185.
[70] Ibid, 2012, 170.
[71] Tarlow, 1999, 6.
[72] Tarlow, 2012, 172.
[73] Ibid, 178-179.
[74] Patricia Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Patricia Jalland & John Hooper, *Women from Birth to Death: The Female Life Cycle in Britain, 1830-1914* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J: Humanities Press International, 1986).
[75] Jalland, 1996.

and middle-class Victorian families from the period 1830 to 1920.[76] These collections contained extensive family correspondence, wills, personal diaries, and memorials of deaths.[77] They enable a glimpse into the minds of these Victorians, providing an understanding of their views towards death and the factors shaping them. Particular attention is given to the changes brought about by the Evangelical movement on the practices and beliefs of various Christian denominations in Britain and how this impacted on the concept of dying well, or a 'good death' or 'bad death'.[78]

The experiences of colonial women are often central in much of the substantive chapters that follow. Jalland's co-written work with John Hooper narrows to focus on the experiences of women in Britain and gives extensive insights into their role in Victorian family life.[79] Lawrence Stone's literary work *The family, sex and marriage in England from 1500-1800* looks at sentiment in family relations and the differences that occurred over time and between those of different classes.[80] Carl Chinn looked specifically at women in the urban poor of England and Michael Anderson provides an overview of the demographic composition and changes within British families between 1750 and 1950.[81] Historical context pertaining to society and its changes in Britain are important as they shaped life, and death, for those memorialised at Addington Cemetery.

[76] Ibid, 8-9.
[77] Ibid, 9.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Patricia Jalland & John Hooper, *Women from Birth to Death: The Female Life Cycle in Britain, 1830-1914* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J: Humanities Press International, 1986).
[80] Lawrence Stone, *The family, sex and marriage in England 1500-1800,* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977).
[81] Carl Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives: Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); Michael Anderson, "The social implications of demographic change" in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950,* edited by F. M. L. Armstrong, Vol 2. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Religion was central in the lives of Victorians, even though uncertainty over Christianity did increase late in the period.[82] Martha Garland has looked at the growing religious scepticism amongst the Victorians.[83] Given the dominance of religious symbolism and inscription on memorials at Addington Cemetery, context on changing social ideologies is integral. Ruth Richardson writes on the Victorian fascination with death and how this was expressed in social life.[84] The social implications of death confronted so frequently by the Victorians are reflected in the memorials of Addington Cemetery. Connecting the historic, social, and material dimensions of colonial deathways is the fundamental aim of this thesis.

Methodology

While there is a large amount of previous research available the connection between the symbolic and material dimensions of cemeteries is still largely unexplored. My thesis addresses this silence by bringing together the material evidence and the available written and digital sources in order to provide a historical ethnography of the lives and deaths of those memorialised at the Addington Cemetery. Given the nature of the research area, as a historic cemetery, field methods of gathering data have been un-intrusive due to it being a site with direct descendants and local communities invested in the preservation of memorials in its present state. Cemeteries from later periods excavated by archaeologists are often only done as rescue archaeology, which can be a sensitive situation due to feelings relating to the disturbance of the dead by the public.[85] The primary focus of this thesis is on

[82] Jalland, 1996, 6.
[83] Martha McMackin Garland, "Victorian Unbelief" in *Death, Ritual, and Bereavement,* ed Ralph Houlbrooke (London; New York: Routledge in association with the Social History Society of the United Kingdom, 1989).
[84] Ruth Richardson, "Why was death so big in Victorian Britain?" in *Death, Ritual, and Bereavement,* ed Ralph Houlbrooke (London; New York: Routledge in association with the Social History Society of the United Kingdom, 1989).
[85] Tarlow, 1999, 13.

the field data collected from plots and memorials during numerous visits to Addington Cemetery, with an emphasis on the photographs taken at those times. It is the photographs that will inform the text of this thesis throughout the substantive chapters.

In selecting which memorials to include in the photographic portion of this thesis I decided that the method best suited was to spend vast amounts of time wandering the rows becoming familiar with and identifying those that best suited the predetermined themes of 'Ethnicity', 'Family', and 'Childhood'. This was done based on the knowledge obtained by surveying the current literature on historic cemeteries both in New Zealand and other parts of the colonial world during the Victorian and Edwardian periods. As the visual element is central, the selection of which memorials to utilise has also depended on their general condition, as many are weathered or damaged beyond use in the photographic elements of this thesis. Additionally, such a method utilizes the cemetery in a manner that is closest to how those that created and are memorialised at Addington Cemetery had themselves intended the cemetery to be interacted with. This is integral to reiterating the meanings of memorials rather than reinterpreting while providing the contextual information that is limited in the material of the cemetery.

Quantitative information is predominately sourced from the available demographic data of the period. Additionally, there are many other primary and secondary sources available to draw knowledge from about those memorialised at Addington Cemetery. The *Christchurch City Council Cemeteries Database* contains digital records of those interred at Addington Cemetery.[86] They are often incomplete and do not bring information together

[86] "Christchurch City Council Cemeteries Database", Christchurch City Libraries, accessed 29 August 2019, http://heritage.christchurchcitylibraries.com/Cemeteries/.

with images of memorials as this thesis will. The database includes varying amounts of details of interred individuals under the following headings: name; date of death; date of burial; block and plot number; age at death; address; occupation; place of birth; years in New Zealand; and general comments.[87] Recognising the significance of Addington Cemetery, the Christchurch City Council (CCC) commissioned Opus to prepare a Conservation Plan, which was done in 2005 and is now available online as well as the research notes compiled by Richard L. N. Greenaway used for annual 'Heritage Week' cemetery tours.[88] It was anticipated that the Conservation Plan would serve as a template for the future care of historic cemeteries in Christchurch. Extensive research has gone into the documents produced by Opus and Greenaway on the establishment of the Addington Cemetery and the lives and deaths of those interned there.[89] Christchurch City Libraries (CCL) has detailed lists of the origins of Street and Place names in Christchurch and its surrounding suburbs which is used in relation to the names and origins of those memorialised at Addington Cemetery.[90]

The various forms of written records by colonial people, letters, diaries, and stone inscriptions, provide insight into the social world of these migrant people as they faced the loss of their loved ones both in their new home and back in England, Scotland, and Ireland.[91] Throughout, memorials are linked with information on vital events and documents from the same period. This involves engagement with several primary sources produced during the period or as collections in secondary sources thereafter. Information from such sources is

[87] "Christchurch City Council Database."
[88] "Addington Cemetery", *Christchurch City Libraries,* accessed May 16, 2018, https://my.christchurchcitylibraries.com/addington-cemetery/; Richard L. N. Greenaway, "Addington Cemetery tour", accessed May 16, 2018, http://christchurchcitylibraries.com/Heritage/Cemeteries/Addington/AddingtonCemetery.pdf.
[89] Burgess, McKenzie, & May; Greenaway.
[90] "Christchurch Street and place names," Christchurch City Libraries, February 2016, https://my.christchurchcitylibraries.com/christchurch-place-names/.
[91] Fraser, 2017, 10.

used through this thesis to provide context to the data interpreted from memorials. There are extensive records that have been obtained through the National Library of New Zealand from Canterbury Newspapers operating during the late nineteenth century.[92] The Museum of Canterbury has extensive digital biographies from *The G. R. Macdonald Dictionary* that provide details on the lives of many of those memorialised at Addington Cemetery.[93] A number of books published containing collections of letters written by the women of colonial Canterbury describing daily life are used throughout the various thesis chapters.[94]

Thesis outline

This thesis comprises of four substantial chapters: Chapter Two, The necro-suburbia; Chapter Three, The Edge of an Empire; Chapter Four, 'Till death do us part'; Chapter Five, *Agnus Dei*–Lamb of God; followed by a brief concluding chapter. Discussion of the central material evidence of Addington Cemetery that is documented in photographs, found in the appendices, in relation to primary sources and existing scholarly research will occur throughout the substantial thesis chapters. Appendix numbers correlate to the number of the relevant chapter, although there are some references to photographs in others.

Chapter Two, 'The necro-suburbia', provides a detailed overview of the Addington Cemetery and frames its significance as a historic cemetery to the contemporary city. This

[92] "Papers Past: Explore all newspapers," *National Library of New Zealand,* accessed May 16, 2018, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/all#region.
[93] Macdonald, G. R. *The G. R. Macdonald Dictionary,* Canterbury Museum, 1952-1964. https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/highlights/17/objects?limit=25.
[94] Lady Barker, *Station life in New Zealand,* Introduction & notes by Betty Gilderdale (Auckland: Vintage, 2000); Jane Deans, *Letters to My Grandchildren,* 3rd edition with indexes, ed. Robin Mitchell (Christchurch: Cadsonbury Publications, 1995); Charlotte Godley, *Letters from Early New Zealand,* Canterbury Centennial Edition, ed. John R. Godley (Christchurch: Whitecombe & Tombs, 1951); *My hand will write what my heart dictates: the unsettled lives of women in the nineteenth-century New Zealand as revealed to sisters, family and friends,* ed. Frances Porter and Charlotte Macdonald with Tui MacDonald (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996); *The Lives of Pioneer Women in New Zealand from their Letters, Diaries and Reminiscences,* selected by Sarah Ell (Auckland: Gordon Ell, Bush Press, 1993).

will give context to the research area that is under consideration in this thesis. This chapter establishes the notion of the cemetery being a necro-suburbia of the dead in relation to the surrounding suburbia of the living. A physical and historical account of Addington Cemetery is given as well as a description of why it is significant as a historic cemetery.

Chapter Three, 'The Edge of an Empire', examines how ethnic roots are displayed and influence memorials at Addington Cemetery. This chapter displays how memorials of Addington Cemetery communicate the ethnic roots of those memorialised and reflect the historical influence they had towards forging Christchurch as it is recognised in its contemporary setting. It conveys how colonial tales of migration to their new home are on display, and how they sought to maintain ties to their places of origin in death. It highlights the ethnic diversity that was present in Christchurch, challenging the notion of an 'England away from England'. Further, showing how they are a reflection of contemporary society, serving as reminders of how identity was used to forge a new home on the colonial fringes.

Chapter Four, 'Till death do us part', focuses on the importance of the family unit in colonial life and death. It shows how the social dynamics of the living are reproduced and displayed in the memorials of their loved ones. The chapter takes a specific focus on how memorials in family plots convey the notion of family as central to colonial thought and practices in both life and death; how memorials show families dealing with the often fractured family units after death, and how colonials dealt with death and dying with little or no family in the colony.

Chapter Five, *Agnus Dei*–Lamb of God, concentrates on the memorialisation of children in the cemetery. This chapter reveals the frequency of which children died in colonial Christchurch and looks at how memorials display the methods of coping which such

loss. The focus is on the use of symbolism and inscription that emphasises how parents felt and dealt with the loss of children. Particular attention is paid to the importance of Christian beliefs and ideologies during such times of grief.

Chapter Two: The necro-suburbia

In his book *Unearthly Landscapes: New Zealand's early cemeteries, churchyards, and urupā,* historian Stephen Deed includes a typology of burial places in New Zealand viewing most as falling into twelve broad categories, with some falling into more than one type.[95] They are categorised as follows: Urupā, traditional Māori burial grounds which often vary from one another; mission station burial grounds, most created in the first half of the nineteenth century; early European burial grounds, not attached to a church and created before 1840; Churchyard burial grounds; urban cemeteries, sub-categorised as first and second-generation cemeteries; provincial cemeteries; rural cemeteries; goldfields burial places; quarantine cemeteries, at quarantine stations set up for sick and diseased migrants; New Zealand Wars burial places, from the conflict between British imperial soldiers and Māori from the 1840s to the 1870s; family cemeteries, family burial grounds on private property; and lone graves.[96] Addington Cemetery can be categorised as a first-generation urban cemetery that was engulfed by urban growth and quick to reach capacity, although it lacks the obvious denominational division that Deed found to be characteristic.[97]

By the middle of the nineteenth-century a new 'necrogeography' and landscape had emerged in and across the European empires.[98] As the churchyards made way for the regime of the cemetery changes were brought about to interactions between the dead and the living.[99] Laqueur asserts the succession of cemeteries over the old churchyards has

[95] Deed, 128-150.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid, 138.
[98] Laqueur, 2015, 238.
[99] Ibid.

generally been accounted for by historians in two ways.[100] First, it has been seen as a consequence of a new attitude towards death as terrifying, threatening, and personal, focusing on what Ariès calls "the death of the other".[101] However, as Laqueur points out, the 'new attitudes' towards death and the dead are as much a consequence of the effect of cemeteries as they are the cause to their rise.[102] The second is more simplistic and practical: dead bodies pose health concerns.[103] The old churchyards were overcrowded with the dead, rank and reeking, bodies poorly disposed of, and at times "the horrors of the scene" lay barely hidden with soil with flies crawling from bodies.[104] However, overcrowded churchyards were far from a new thing, it was characteristic for them to be so, and the smells had been tolerated for centuries.[105]

For Laqueur, the main issue with churchyards was they were stubbornly constrained by their old systems and lacking the ability to adapt to a changing world that was inhospitable to the old ways.[106] Cemeteries were able to conform to changing cultural values and views of the living towards the dead, and they continue to do so.[107] Burials took place within cemeteries at the convenience, inclination, and subject to the financial ability of the living.[108] Analysis of Addington Cemetery, which was established amidst the change of burial customs throughout the British colonial world, is revealing of this. This chapter provides an overview of the layout, condition, and historical context of the landscape of the Addington Cemetery as a place of significance both historically and in contemporary times.

[100] Ibid, 216.
[101] Laqueur, 2015, 216; Ariès, 1981, 407-475.
[102] Laqueur, 2015, 217.
[103] Ibid, 217-218.
[104] Ibid, 217-220.
[105] Ibid, 222-224.
[106] Laqueur, 2015, 227-228.
[107] Ibid, 214.
[108] Ibid, 212.

As Deed notes, cemeteries and cities are not separate, rather they are reflected in each other.[109] Cemeteries, both modern and historic, are the necro-suburbia of urban life in both a material and symbolic sense.[110] However, the suburbs and necro-suburbs that make up the city are not mirroring images of one another. At times the image they portray can be a distorted one, changed by numerous factors such as its shape, age, condition, placement, or even the person that seeks to find an authentic portrayal of self and others. Monuments are reflexive through the creation and reproduction of relationships, but do not mirror social relations; rather, they often portray an idealised social order.[111] Burial locations "can invert, disguise or misrepresent living identities and structures".[112] Just as Laqueur says "There would be no cemetery without the dead" there would also be no dead without the living.[113] Aside from the obvious point of 'providing' a place for the dead, how they are perceived, represented, and remembered in the cemetery is dependent on the living. Cemeteries have been analysed as spaces where "social relationships are negotiated and (re)produced."[114] 'Social persona' is malleable and may not be a reflection of 'social reality'.[115] Societies have a shared understanding of the various meanings and values of emotions, as such, they are characterised by emotional values.[116] The spaces of the dead can provide deep insights into the emotional meanings and values of living societies in the past. This is the necro-suburbia that makes cemeteries places of fascination and importance for scholars and everyday citizens alike.

[109] Deed, 8.
[110] The term 'necro-suburba' coined from inspiration of Laqueur's use of the term necrogeography.
[111] Michael Parker Pearson in Tarlow, 1999, 22.
[112] Tarlow, 1999, 11.
[113] Laquer, 2015, 279.
[114] Tarlow, 1999, 12.
[115] Ibid, 12.
[116] Tarlow, 2000, 728.

Physical description of Addington Cemetery

Most landscapes purposed as burial grounds have been built up over time while maintaining a sense of spatial order.[117] The new cemeteries were broadly based on the picturesque design of Père Lachaise, although heavily governed by British taste, and Addington Cemetery is no exception to this.[118] Colonial cemeteries increasingly resembled those in Britain as the nineteenth century progressed and were fashioned as public spaces that bought the function of burial ground together with the aesthetics of a carefully designed park.[119] The five-acre block of Addington Cemetery is divided into plots nine long by three feet wide. The plots of other cemeteries of the same period in Christchurch tended to be slightly larger[120] As Greenaway notes, graves have been tightly packed together in an attempt to utilise as much space as possible.[121] This was done not only due to the rectangular space but in order to meet the requirements for capitalising on plot sales.[122] Graves are laid head-to-head in a formal manner following the grid pattern, occurring right up to the legal boundaries of the cemetery.[123]

As the Addington Cemetery plot map in appendix 1 shows burials have been laid out in a grid pattern, typical of Victorian and Edwardian period's use of space, separated by fairly narrow walkways.[124] There was a tendency to lay parks and gardens out in a similar fashion in these periods, and Addington Cemetery is typical the nineteenth-century English

[117] Mytum, 421.
[118] Deed, 26.
[119] Deed, 117.
[120] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 7 & 47.
[121] Greenaway, 2.
[122] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 41.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 40-41; Appendix 1.

concept of a garden cemetery.[125] Burgess, McKenzie, and May note that Addington Cemetery is very similar to the 1840s Cambridge Cemetery in England designed by John Claudius Loudon, a Caledonian who was influential in the garden cemetery movement.[126] There are three entrances to the cemetery: one connecting to Braddon Street at the eastern end, another from Fairfield Street on the southeast corner, both of which follow Baxter's Drain, and the main entrance from Selwyn Street which leads into a wide central path, shown in photograph 3 of appendix 2, that ends in a circular carriage turning area approximately at the centre of the cemetery.[127] Photograph 2 of appendix 2 shows the carriage turning area, the centre of which was optimised as burial plots.[128] Open spaces are minimal, the central path (4.5 m wide) ending in the turning area, and the north and south grass walkways (approximately 3.5 m wide) are the only ones of significance.[129] Some areas of the cemetery have wooden seats situated among the memorials and an information panel has been erected just inside the main entrance which some information on historical values and notable burials.[130] Cemeteries elsewhere in New Zealand's main urban areas at this period were often situated on hillsides, partly due to the land being less suitable for housing and farming.[131] Given the topographic location of Christchurch this did not occur.[132]

From the time of organised settlement slate headstones from England and sandstone memorials from Australia could be obtained by those that could afford it.[133] The

[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid, 41; James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to some of the Buildings, Monuments, and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western European Tradition,* (London: Constable, 1980): 244-264.
[127] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 40; Appendix 2, Photograph 3; Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 41 note that Baxter's Drain is not part of the cemetery.
[128] Appendix 2, Photograph 2.
[129] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 41.
[130] Ibid, 40.
[131] Trapeznik & Gee, 2013, 50-51.
[132] Ibid, 50.
[133] Deed, 65.

funerary business in New Zealand established national and international trade connections with decorative stone and mourning accessories coming through imperial trade from Britain and Italy via Australia.[134] By the 1870s most people had access to the mass-produced headstones and grave surroundings that were common throughout New Zealand.[135] From the 1880s headstones and monuments were made almost exclusively from imported materials.[136] Many of the monuments made from the pearly white marble pictured throughout the appendices could, at a glance, be mistaken for other materials as time has stained them a greyish tinge.[137] Often the creation of traditional memorials required improvisation as materials were not always easy to obtain.[138] Many did apply their knowledge of appropriate social expression in this new context.[139] Combinations of local and imported materials such as native wood, Oamaru limestone, Australian sandstone, Welsh slate, Italian marble, and Aberdeen granite gives a distinctive character to New Zealand's old cemeteries.[140]

Stylistic differences of memorials between denominations or regions are not obvious, rather the trend tends to reflect the architectural tastes of the period.[141] The major exception is the small number of Chinese memorials, which tend to follow a tradition of their own, as is seen in other historic cemeteries.[142] Monument design was lively, democratic, and permitted the expression of individuality.[143] For those with the desire and

[134] Trapeznik & Gee, 2016, 318.
[135] Deed, 65.
[136] Ibid, 173.
[137] See Appendices.
[138] Deed, 64.
[139] Sewell, 143.
[140] Deed, 172-173.
[141] Trapeznik & Gee, 2016, 325.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Deed, 29.

the money cemeteries allowed for the use of more eclectic designs, although it was not always considered to be in the best taste to do so.[144] More generic and mass-produced monuments tended to meet the aspirations and abilities of most.[145] Monuments, in general, are fairly simple, the most common being variations of a flat concrete slab with an upright stone stele (headstone) at times with low concrete perimeters or iron railings.[146]

Memorials most commonly list the generations of single families since arrival in New Zealand. Crosses, particularly the Celtic Cross, are also relatively common, with a few elaborate sculptures throughout.[147] As photographs 4 and 5 of appendix 2 show, many crosses lie broken in jumbled messes and have been collected into piles containing parts to multiple memorials.[148] Generally, the stylistic variation of monuments relates more to their period and what was viewed as appropriate to spend on them and inscriptions tend to be more revealing of denominational differences than monument style.[149] Common materials used are granite, marble, sandstone, limestone, slate, and basalt, any early memorials that may have been made from wood have not survived.[150] There are a few 'green' areas that are not pathways but are most likely unmarked graves.[151] They may have always been unmarked graves of children, 'paupers', or those that had committed suicide, although it is possible that some once had memorials that have either been moved or possibly disintegrated with time.[152]

[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 43.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Appendix 2, Photograph 4 & 5.
[149] Trapeznik & Gee, 2016, 325 & 328.
[150] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 44.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.

The Greek philosopher Aristotle proclaimed plants to have a soul, a special one as they could not move, in the fourth century B.C. [153] With the rise of the garden cemetery the Victorians, known for their love of flowers, adapted many ancient myths and Christian symbolism to give plants special attributes giving them special places in the cemetery landscape.[154] The abundantly planted evergreen Yew trees had featured in British churchyards since the middle ages.[155] They were often used with or instead of the cypress tree, sometimes called the Tree of Life, throughout European cemeteries.[156] As can be seen in appendix 2, the tradition was continued at Addington Cemetery and there are Yew and Oak trees planted throughout.[157] Over the years vegetation has increased with trees, shrubs, flowers, and even the weeds self-seeding.[158] When visiting the cemetery it is common to see council workers conducting maintenance work on the lawns and overgrown vegetation.

Some of the trees that had been planted on the periphery of the cemetery were later removed to make way for more burial space.[159] There are a number of Yew trees, a link to ancient churchyards and symbolic of eternal life, some well over a hundred years old, that cast shelter and low lying hedges, some of which was arranged and paid for by St Andrew's Church. Most plants in or near graves appear to have been selected and planted at the discretion of the plot owners.[160] Many of these are part of the memorial, as such are of historic significance in their own right, but over time they have grown and have damaged

[153] Douglas Keister, *Stories In Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography,* (Layton; Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2004): 41.
[154] Keister, 41.
[155] Deed, 28; Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 48.
[156] Keister, 60.
[157] Appendix 2.
[158] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 42.
[159] Ibid, 13.
[160] Greenaway, 2; Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 12-13,48 & 79.

or obscured burial plots.[161] The plants attract the presence of birds and they, in turn, attract cats like in photograph 8 of appendix 2, from the neighbouring properties, which can startle unsuspecting visitors. The cemetery is also a popular location for dog walkers, which was observed on numerous occasions.

Burgess, McKenzie, and May provide a detailed description of the condition of the Addington Cemetery monuments as of 2005.[162] At the time of their assessment, Addington Cemetery was in reasonable condition given its age.[163] The condition of the cemetery has unfortunately worsened in the past decade with time, weather, and numerous earthquakes visibly taking their toll. Throughout the cemetery monuments are in varying states as some lay toppled, cracked, crumbled, leaning, delaminated, collapsing, lead lettering falling off, iron rails bent and broken, and as predicted the growth of vegetation has become invasive.[164] Attempts have been made to group together broken headstones in there plot locations and some fallen headstones are supported with wooden dunnage where they lay. Burgess, McKenzie, and May observed that vandalism in the cemetery had been an issue, particularly to rear away from public view. A positive note is that vandalism is fairly low, although rubbish is scattered throughout the cemetery and the commercial buildings are covered in graffiti. Additionally, the poor condition of many memorials makes it difficult to tell whether they have been mistreated. Many of the memorials of Christchurch's early colonials have however remained intact and readable allowing for insight into the settler community. Photographs taken over the course of producing this thesis shows that the ongoing degradation of memorials due to the effects of the elements and time are

[161] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 80.
[162] See Appendix 1 of Burgess, McKenzie, & May.
[163] Ibid, 46.
[164] See Appendix 1 of Burgess, McKenzie, & May.

inevitable without more importance and attention from the Christchurch City Council, local communities, and living family members.

Historical overview of Addington Cemetery

Like in Britain, religious denomination has been a key influence in shaping cemeteries although traditional memorial forms brought to New Zealand had to be reworked to suit the new environment and availability of resources.[165] Addington Cemetery was opened by St Andrew's Presbyterian Church in 1858 in response to the perceived 'exclusiveness' of the Barbadoes Street Cemetery, the only other burial ground in the city at that time.[166] The cemetery was laid out and planted by the deacons' court of St Andrew's, which remained involvement in administration even after the forming of a cemetery trust in 1861.[167] The work by Trapeznik and Gees on Dunedin's Southern Cemetery looks at the funerary practices of Victorian New Zealanders and the subsequent treatment of the surviving memorials and land.[168] Their findings show how religious communities had an impact on the physical layout and use of historic cemeteries with their use of corporatized burial plots.[169] For example, Catholic sections often give prominent placement to members of the clergy.[170] The Barbadoes Street Cemetery was separated into distinct areas for Anglicans to the east with Roman Catholics and Dissenters allocated to a smaller section to the West.[171] Christchurch's earliest cemetery, Barbadoes Street Cemetery, was planned as

[165] Deed, 10.
[166] Trapeznik & Gee, 2013, 47.
[167] Wilson J., 220.
[168] Trapeznik & Gee, 2013; 2016, 321 & 330.
[169] Trapeznik & Gee, 2016.
[170] Ibid, 324.
[171] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 4.

distinct cemeteries for The Church of England, Catholics, and Dissenters, although The Church of England's cemetery was ten times larger than the latter two combined.[172]

John Robert Godley, with Edward Gibbon Wakefield, was instrumental in the establishment of the Canterbury Association in 1847.[173] The Canterbury Settlement and its main city Christchurch was founded on the principles of the Anglican Church, planned to have an Anglican Cathedral at the city's heart, and named the three main squares Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley –later Cathedral Square– after the Martyred Anglican Bishops.[174] All other Protestant religious denominations were classified as dissenters, although this was an anachronism in the colony given there was no formal state religion as was the case in Britain.[175] This classification of 'dissenters' was seen as a grievance for some who did not wish for their dead to be buried with such a label.[176] As there was no specific area for Presbyterians and burials could only be performed by a minister of the Anglican Church, they were motivated to establish their own cemetery.[177] Ironically, only days after the land was purchased the first internment was George McIlraith, whose memorial is shown in photograph 6 of appendix 2, the brother of Jane Deans who had been so influential in acquiring and establishing the cemetery.[178] The *Wellington Independent* recorded with much detail in an article titled "MELANCHOLY AND FATAL ACCIDENTS" the unfortunate

[172] Trapeznik & Gee, 2013, 46.
[173] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 6.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Jane Deans, *A sketch of the early history of St Andrew's Church, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1856-1906 with supplementary notes: issued, in connection with the jubilee of St Andrew's Church, by the Deacon's court* (Christchurch; Christchurch Press Co. Ltd, 1906): 14; Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 6.
[176] Deans, 1906, 17; Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 6.
[177] Greenaway, 2.
[178] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 8; Appendix 2, photograph 6.

event of George being thrown and dragged by a horse for some distance, dying soon after.[179]

While the cemetery was built in the Rural Section, a suburb began to emerge after the railway was built in 1865.[180] Being located on the outskirts of the original settlements meant many nineteenth-century cemeteries were encircled by urban development, often in only a few decades.[181] In May 1885 the Canterbury newspaper the *Star* reported that the Addington and Avonside cemeteries were being rapidly surrounded by residential dwellings, although interments were still frequent.[182] The cemetery plots were sold within thirty years of purchasing the land and in 1888 it was declared full, although burials continued until 1980.[183] The Christchurch City Council (CCC) assumed management of the Addington Cemetery in 1947 and was officially declared a 'closed cemetery' in 1980, meaning there could be no further burials other than those with existing family plots.[184]

The general state of the cemetery was recorded as being of concern to some as early as the 1870s. A letter to the editor of the *Lyttelton Times* expressed the collective concern by many Presbyterians as to full disclosure of the management and ownership of the cemetery in 1872.[185] It seems that there had been a number of complaints made concerning

[179] Wellington Independent, "CANTERBURY", *Wellington Independent,* 15 December, 1858, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18581215.2.14.5.
[180] Trapeznik & Gee, 2013, 47; Morrison, 20.
[181] Trapeznik & Gee, 2013.
[182] Star, "THE GENERAL CEMETERY AND SMALL-POX HOSPITAL", *Star,* 18 May, 1885, http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18850518.2.21.
[183] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 8; J. P. Morrison, *The evolution of a city: the story of the growth of the city and suburbs of Christchurch, the capital of Canterbury, in the years from 1850 to 1903,* (Christchurch: Christchurch City Council, 1948): 117; Wilson J., 220.
[184] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 1.
[185] Lyttelton Times, "THE SCOTCH CEMETERY", *Lyttelton Times,* 5 February, 1872, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/LT18720205.2.15.6.

the proximity and suitability of the cemetery.[186] The *Globe* newspaper published a piece titled 'NUISANCE' on 10 July 1877 after an anonymous correspondent had written to complain about "an offensive smell" coming from the Addington Cemetery, warning that there was an impending health issue if something was not done quickly.[187] A week later there was a rebuttal made by a frequent visitor to the cemetery who had spoken with the Sexton and been informed that the smell came from the waste of the neighbouring soap and candle factory.[188] The visitor further expressed their tendency to ""meditate among the tombs," and view the place where I must shortly lie".[189] It was expressed that in earlier years they had considered the management of the cemetery to be extremely poor but at that point in 1877 the Sexton was keeping things in fine order.[190]

Newspapers show that issues seem to have continued through to the mid-1880s, suggesting that funds had been mishandled by the Cemetery Trustees and that the deed for the land to be used as a cemetery had not been signed in the first place.[191] In December 1882 the *Lyttelton Times* published an article titled "THE SCOTCH CEMETERY" following a meeting of the owners of sections in the cemetery discussing the rumours of misconduct and improper management of funds and payment.[192] Reverend Charles Fraser, an appointed trustee of the cemetery, reportedly received all payments for plots, though he never

[186] Lyttelton Times, "PROVINCIAL COUNCIL", *Lyttelton Times,* 5 June, 1872, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/LT18720605.2.14.
[187] Globe, "NEWS OF THE DAY", *Globe,* 10 July, 1877, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/GLOBE18770710.2.10, para 3.
[188] Globe, "ADDINGTON CEMETERY", *Globe,* 17 July, 1877, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/GLOBE18770717.2.15.
[189] Globe, 17 July, 1877, para 1.
[190] Ibid, 1877.
[191] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 13; Lyttelton Times, "THE SCOTCH CEMETERY", *Lyttelton Times,* 12 December, 1882, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/LT18821212.2.28.
[192] ; Lyttelton Times*,* 12 December, 1882.

accounted for them.[193] It was stated in meetings held to have the land deed signed, which Fraser never attended, that some sections in the cemetery have been sold as many as four times over to different parties.[194]

Reverend Fraser had been the focus of controversy relating to the cemetery in the past. The funeral of the late Gunner G. W. Middleweek at Addington Cemetery received a fair amount of attention. This was in part due to the ceremony being conducted with full military honours, an uncommon sight, but also due to the noted absence of Fraser.[195] The procession waited for half an hour before a Mr Robertson of St Andrew's church took it upon himself to read the service.[196] Fraser was publically called out in the *Lyttelton Times* by a relative of Gunner Middleweek who had paid him for the grave and confirmed in their view that he would be in attendance.[197] The absence of a minister of religion that had been given payment and ample notice was seen as a grave grievance and it was not the only occasion it had happened.[198] Fraser's career came to an end in 1883 when deposed by the Canterbury Presbytery due to charges of financial mismanagement and sexual misconduct towards female servants, although he protested his innocence till death and some people, such as Jane Deans, remained loyal to the minister.[199] His memorial, shown in photograph 7

[193] Otago Daily Times, "Telegrams", *Otago Daily Times,* 12 December, 1882, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18821212.2.11.
[194] Otago Daily Times, 12 Decemeber, 1882.
[195] Lyttelton Times, "TOWN & COUNTRY", *Lyttelton Times,* 28 April, 1873, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/LT18730428.2.12; Press, "NEWS OF THE DAY", *Press,* 28 April, 1873, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP18730428.2.14; Star, "Local and General", *Star,* 28 April, 1873, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18730428.2.5.
[196] Lyttelton Times, 28 April, 1873; Press, 28 April, 1873; Star, 28 April, 1873.
[197] Lyttelton Times, "ASHBURTON RACES", *Lyttelton Times,* 3 May, 1873, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/LT18730503.2.13.
[198] Lyttelton Times, 3 May, 1873.
[199] Greenaway, 38.

of appendix 2, is situated at the centre of the cemetery on the outside of the carriageway amongst the overgrown funerary plantings.[200]

There was even the distressing case of a funerary procession arriving to locked gates and no grave prepared to inter the deceased.[201] The gates were broken open and the sexton found, who stated he had no knowledge of the situation and the undertaker was adamant all the required task had been fulfilled.[202] With no ground set aside, it was only due to attendee Mr. Preece offering his plot to the bereaved parents that the burial could take place, friends digging the grave themselves.[203] It was in April 1884 that the Editor of the *Lyttelton Times* finally, weary of the constant complaints and coverage in the newspaper, stated it would not get its attention any longer.[204] The cemetery's condition and management was a constant problem for the Deacon's Court, a committee that oversaw the affairs of St Andrew's Church. [205] By the 1880s plot sale at Addington Cemetery were in decline due to the cemetery being relatively full.[206] The Deacons Court requested the Trustees hand over the management of the cemetery to them although it was not until legal action was taken in 1885 that the matter finally was set in order.[207]. By the time the CCC considered administrating the cemetery in 1947 it was reported to be overgrown and vandalised.[208] They suggested that the best course of action under their control would be to remove all headstones and create a historic park, as open space became less accessible in

[200] Appendix 2, Photograph 7.
[201] Evening Post, "Distressing Scene at a Funeral", *Evening Post,* 9 July, 1883, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18830709.2.25.
[202] Evening Post, 9 July, 1883.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 13; Lyttelton Times, "THE SCOTCH CEMETERY", *Lyttelton Times,* 29 May, 1884, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/LT18840529.2.30.7; Note – There are numerous Newspaper articles on PapersPast covering back and foreword argument regarding management.
[205] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 17.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid, 13-14.
[208] Ibid, 17.

the city.[209] Such a proposed action, given the issues with ownership, may not have been legal. It was 'resolved' that this would take place in both the Barbadoes Street and Addington Cemeteries, although as Burgess, McKenzie, and May point out, given both cemeteries remain intact today it clearly was never 'resolved'.[210]

The significance of historic cemeteries

Deed describes the various cultural and historical values or understandings New Zealand's old cemeteries can provide the local and broader society such as genealogical and kinship information, important individuals and events, social change over time, life and death in New Zealand, the impact of colonisation, taste and technology, environmental history, and as a reflection or component of the board historical landscape.[211] Addington Cemetery is held in reasonably high esteem by the surrounding community and has commemorative importance to a number of families and descendants of those buried there.[212] Monument survival is at times at a higher rate due to cemeteries receiving attention for the graves of locally and globally famous figures.[213] This has been the case with Addington Cemetery, at least until the earthquakes of 2010-11, due to the burials of prominent figures like the prominent activist and suffragette Kate Sheppard.[214] Some nineteenth-century New Zealanders have left accounts, diaries, and photographs, or have been memorialised with public monuments, buildings, and through the naming of places.[215] For most, the only memorial is the grave monuments that signify the life and death of

[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid, 18.
[211] Deed, 204-213.
[212] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 48.
[213] Trapeznik & Gee, 2013, 49.
[214] Ibid
[215] Deed, 212.

individuals or even whole families and communities.[216] However, the prominence of such graves can obscure the fact that many buried in these historic cemeteries never had any monument.[217] It is such realities that make them reflections of the surrounding cities, the dead of which they house.

Nora describes memory as life, existing in living societies, with history as its fundamental opposite, reconstructing that which no longer is.[218] Cemeteries are sites that blur such apparent distinctions. The emergence of cemeteries provided the ground for a general anthropological and historical account of religion.[219] The cemetery was seen as the impermeable primordial boundary separating the living from the dead, imagined in a way, not unlike a wrecked ship submerged at the bottom of the sea, only its mast visible above the waves.[220] In its grounds the dead are represented as if, in some sense, they are still alive.[221] Cemeteries were intended as spaces that provided a restoration of an idyllic classical past over the historic one or even an image of a utopian future.[222] Old cemeteries can be places to connect us with our personal, local, and national past as landscapes of cultural and social history.[223] Modern memory, as archival and autonomous, in its institutionalised format in museums, libraries, depositories, centres of documentation, and data banks is reliant on its materiality.[224] The additional symbolic elements of cemeteries make them unique and give them a significance unlike other sites of memory and history.

[216] Ibid.
[217] Trapeznik & Gee, 2013.
[218] Nora, 8.
[219] Laqueur, 2015, 305.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid.
[222] Ibid, 272.
[223] Deed, 204.
[224] Nora, 13.

The view expressed by the *Star* newspaper in 1885 was that Addington Cemetery was a place to be held sacred and looked after in memory of the "Pioneers of the Canterbury settlement over whose ashes so many magnificent monuments of loving regard have been rained".[225] Historic cemeteries were not seen as somewhere to be avoided; rather they would serve as places of fond remembrance of the illustrious dead.[226] As Trapeznik and Gee put it, the physical state of historic cemeteries would not surprise a Victorian time traveller as much as the fact they would likely find themselves wandering alone.[227] Through the twentieth century many historic cemeteries were, and still are, neglected.[228] Full cemeteries ceased to provide revenue and were seen as a financial burden by city councils and ratepayers.[229] As Deed notes, this resulted in the partial, or even complete, destruction of some of the periods' historic cemeteries as they gave way to residential and infrastructural growth.[230] The rise of the cemetery was accompanied by a revolution in the expression of sentiment in memorials that focused on families and individuals in a way the churchyard had not.[231] But urban development and economic growth seemingly far outweighed such things. Attitudes regarding the value of historic cemeteries have changed in recent years.[232] Although founded in 1954 it was only in 2004 that Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga (HNZPT) first added an urban cemetery to its List.[233] Although it has not, and is still not, always been observed all nineteenth-century cemeteries are protected as archaeological sites by HNZTP as a site pertaining to human

[225] Star, 18 May, 1885, para. 3.
[226] Star, 18 May, 1885.
[227] Trapeznik & Gee, 2013, 63.
[228] Deed, 189.
[229] Ibid, 12.
[230] Ibid, 11-12.
[231] Laqueur, 2015, 216.
[232] Deed, 12.
[233] Ibid, 12 & 192.

activity prior to 1900.[234] Deed points out that a short-coming of this is that monuments in build after 1900 in nineteenth-century cemeteries technically are not covered.[235]

The location of individual graves received little consideration in the earlier churchyard burials as it was thought that they were in the care of the Church until the 'Day of Judgement' being buried on consecrated ground.[236] Hallam and Hockey note that the former mainstream burial grounds of churchyards maintained a spiritual 'community', whereas contemporary cemeteries are additionally sites of personal communication between the bereaved family members.[237] Monuments are a testament to the bereavement of those that erected them and it is difficult to remain unaffected when confronted with the sentiment of others.[238] As photograph 9 of appendix 2 shows, modern visitors also place importance on cemetery memorials.[239] The example here of a small makeshift memorial in the form of a cross having been placed on a plot without a memorial by an unknown visitor.[240] The naming of the dead and tying of others through the expression of relationships can give an empathetic emotional experience to the modern onlooker.[241] Articulating emotion can be difficult for those experiencing them.[242] Cemeteries function as places of emotion in material and transitional or ephemeral forms, which might also provide means of coming to terms with feelings of loss and grief.[243]

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[234] Ibid, 196; See Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act 2014, Pulbic Act 2014, No. 26, http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2014/0026/29.0/DLM4005414.html.
[235] Deed, 197.
[236] Katrina Simon, "Death Memory, Text: Reading the Landscape of Remembrance" *Landscape Review,* 2, no. 3 (1996): 15.
[237] Hallam & Hockey, 87.
[238] Tarlow, 1999, 20.
[239] Appendix 2, Photograph 9.
[240] Appendix 2, Photograph 9.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Tarlow, 2000, 728.
[243] Tarlow, 2012, 176.

Summary

Once on the outskirts of the city, Addington Cemetery is now both materially and symbolically one of the necro-suburbia's that is central to Christchurch. The overall physical state of Addington Cemetery is remarkably good when compared to many other cemeteries of the same period. Given the age of many monuments, and the seismic forces they have been subjected to, their condition is fairly good. Consistent maintenance from the Christchurch City Council and other invested parties is certainly assisting this. It is revealing of contemporary attitudes towards the cemetery. Addington Cemetery is significant to many of the modern citizens of Christchurch. The historic context it can provide is useful towards telling the stories and understanding details of the lives of the colonials that created the society and suburbs that have engulfed Addington Cemetery. The identities of those families and individuals are written and carved in the stones of the necro-suburbia that is Addington Cemetery. The next chapter explores this in more detail by focusing on how ethnic roots and voyage routes of colonials are on display in the memorials of Addington Cemetery.

Chapter Three: The edge of an Empire

In 1883 Charles Edmund Bevan-Brown, then assistant master at Manchester Grammar School, was selected as the second headmaster of Christchurch Boys' High School.[244] As shown in photograph 1 of appendix 3, his father, Reverend William Roberts Brown a Methodist minister of Cornwall England, made the voyage to Christchurch to visit his son in 1885.[245] As it was for many this was to be a one way trip for him. The memorial of Reverend Brown details that he fell ill and died after four days sickness on the 2nd May 1885 at age 72.[246] Not everyone would have been able to afford a return passage from England, and not everyone would have "…COME TO THY GRAVE IN A FULL AGE…" as is suggested Reverend Brown did by the reference to the book of Job on the monuments epitaph.[247] What many did have in common was a desire to display their ethnic roots that had origins both distant in time and place in the memorisation of their loved ones, in a small colonial cemetery that seemed, as Mark Twain described of New Zealand, "not close to anything".[248]

Statements of nativity, national symbols, and surname are all useful in studies of the relationship between ethnicity, migration and settlement.[249] The colonials' may well have left the docks of London and Glasgow far behind, as Phillips and Hearn suggest, but ethnic roots and the cultural understanding or resources that accompanied them were still of

[244] G. R. Macdonald, "Macdonald Dictionary Record: Charles Edmund Bevan-Brown", *The G. R. Macdonald Dictionary,* 1952-1964, https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/objects/708412; Bernard John Foster, "BROWN, Charles Edmund Bevan", *Te Ara – the Encyclopidea of New Zealand,* accessed 09 March 2019, https://teara.govt.nz/en/1966/brown-charles-edmund-bevan.
[245] G. R. Macdonald, "Macdonald Dictionary Record: Charles Edmund Bevan-Brown"; Foster; Appendix 3, Photograph 1.
[246] Appendix 3, Photograph 1.
[247] Job 5:26; Appendix 3, Photograph 1.
[248] Mark Twain, *Following the Equator: A Journey Around the World* (Public Domain, 1899): 230.
[249] Deed, 207.

importance to many.[250] This chapter highlights how memorials emphasis ethnic roots with declarations of voyage and arrival, statements and symbols of ethnicity, and how this was used to create a sense of home in Christchurch. Fraser notes, of English men and women in the South Island of New Zealand, that it was neither new strategies nor strict adherence to cultural traditions that governed the commemoration and remembrance of the dead.[251] It was the reinvention of old practices and traditions that gave meaning to death, dying, burial, grief, and provided some solidarity through shared colonial death cultures.[252] Some memorials give hints to the ethnicity of those to which they are dedicated, while others proclaim it outright with the use of language and symbolism.[253] The memorials of Addington Cemetery communicate the ethnic roots of those memorialised and reflect the historical influence they had towards forging Christchurch as it is recognised in its contemporary setting. They convey how colonial tales of migration to their new home are on display and how they sought to maintain ties to their places of origin in death. They highlight the ethnic diversity that was present in Christchurch, challenging the notion of an 'England' away from England. Further, they are a reflection of contemporary society, serving as reminders of how identity was used to forge a new home on the colonial fringes. Inscriptions and distinct symbolism found on monuments at Addington Cemetery echo colonial voices and are an overt display of their diverse ethnic roots and routes.

The most obvious marker of migration and ethnicity of colonial cemeteries is their very existence in locations so far from the homelands of most of those whose remains are interred within and whose names and identities are displayed. They are a lasting reminder

[250] Phillips & Hearn, 158.
[251] Fraser, 2012 100.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Mytum, 422.

of early routes and roots of colonials in Christchurch. The emergence of the modern cemetery in New Zealand has been linked to what James Belich describes as the "instant township".[254] Auckland was established in 1840-41 as a purpose-built capital.[255] The New Zealand Company and those affiliated, including the Otago and Canterbury associations, founded five other 'Wakefield' settlements: Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth during 1840-42, and Otago and Canterbury respectively in 1848 and 1850.[256] Edward Gibbon Wakefield's systematic model of colonisation aspired to reproduce the best of the old world and make New Zealand a 'Better Britain'.[257] Canterbury, as a 'Wakefield' settlement, over time began to earn the reputation of being "more English than the English".[258] The romanticised image of 'home' manifesting itself as the city and suburbs by which they were surrounded.[259] The first-generation cemeteries, as described by Deed, reflect the layout and ideals of nature, art, and achievement as did the then-new towns.[260] The social developments in New Zealand that took place after the 1840s resulted in religious and ethnic diversity that influenced the shaping of landscapes and burial places of the colonies in a way Wakefield likely never anticipated.[261]

Cemeteries across the colonial world each have their own story, both strange and ordinary, creating new places for the dead in the absence of ancient connections.[262] Laqueur asserts that a colonial cemetery might even be interpreted as an overt gesture of that

[254] James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century,* (London; Auckland, N.Z;: Allen Lane, 1996): 188; Deed, 56.
[255] Belich, 188; Deed, 56.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Deed, 51.
[258] Phillips & Hearn, 146.
[259] Rhodes, 420.
[260] Deed, 56.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Laqueur, 270.

domination over the indigenous population in some cases.[263] The stele memorising the colonial dead serving a similar purpose to those of ancient origin from which they take inspiration, as signposts of British colonial domination. Those interred are linked to contemporary society, viewed as family and friends of the living, pilgrims or pioneers of the city, or perhaps even as the casualties necessary for imperial expansion. For many New Zealand was regarded as a distant province of the homeland, and possibly still was for some when Rhodes was writing his chapter on the colonial literature of Canterbury.[264] Nostalgic notions of the potential for a different and more civilised life back in Britain were often resisted by those that had travelled to Canterbury and became easier to resist with time.[265] Those that stayed usually believed that it was integration into the new society that would lead to success.[266] Such views are reflected in the choice of text and symbolism of memorials at Addington Cemetery.

Standardised patterns of behaviour, such as burial rites as part of religious and ideological beliefs, reflect the rise and spread of cultures.[267] Laqueur refers to the emerging cemeteries of the nineteenth century as "a historicist jumble made of borrowed bits of different pasts: Egyptian, Roman, Greek, medieval Christian, Ottoman, Moghul, and more."[268] The new cemeteries were "reflected and infected" throughout the colonies of the British Empire and through absorbing influences of the 'exotic' people that had been encountered.[269] The classical influence of the new burial grounds is evident in the word

[263] Ibid.
[264] H. W. Rhodes, "The Literature of Canterbury, 1850-1950", in *A History of Canterbury,* ed. W. J. Gardener, (Christchurch, Canterbury Centennial Historical and Literary Committee: Whitecombe & Tombs, 1971): 416.
[265] Rhodes, 420.
[266] Phillips & Hearn, 158-159.
[267] Tarlow, 1999, 9.
[268] Laqueur, 2015, 212.
[269] Ibid, 238.

'cemetery' itself, derived from the Greek *koimētērion* meaning a place to sleep or dormitory.[270] In 1843 Alfred Pugin, the leader of the medieval Gothic architectural revival in England, asserted that the Cross was the most appropriate emblem for the tomb of those professing their belief in God, and expressed his disbelief at the pagan nature of the then modern cemetery memorials.[271] His words for the most seem to have fallen on deaf ears. Masons drew inspiration from the tombs of Gothic churches and architecture but it was Greek, Roman, and Egyptian inspired pyramids, obelisks, columns, and urns proved to be the most popular.[272] The altar tombs of Britain were expensive and rarely replicated in New Zealand.[273] The slightly older cemeteries in Australia contained many but by the time New Zealanders could afford them as a luxury they were no longer fashionable.[274] Variations of the stele, upright headstone, is the most common form of memorial at Addington Cemetery.[275] They are also the monuments that display the most overt expressions of ethnic identity.

Arriving in the colony

In the late 1890s following his voyage around the British Empire Mark Twain wrote "All people think that New Zealand is close to Australia or Asia, or somewhere, and that you cross to it on a bridge. But that is not so. It is not close to anything, but lies by itself, out in the water. It is nearest to Australia, but still not near. The gap between is very wide. It will be a surprise to the reader, as it was to me, to learn that the distance from Australia to New

[270] Deed,19
[271] Cited in Morley, 54; Deed, 28.
[272] Deed, 28-29.
[273] Ibid, 174.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 43.

Zealand is really twelve or thirteen hundred miles, and that there is no bridge."[276] For most of the colonials arriving during the nineteenth century New Zealand was about as far from their homelands as was possible. In her letters, Lady Barker describes the voyage from England by the Canterbury Association "Pilgrims" taking four months in fine weather.[277] Inscriptions throughout Addington Cemetery not only direct the thoughts of visitors to the long ship voyages required to reach New Zealand but also of the distant homelands of the passengers that did so.

The large carved Celtic cross pictured in photograph 2 of appendix 3 certainly proclaims the Anderson family's proud Scottish heritage to those passing by.[278] The towering evergreen yew trees of the neighbouring plot makes the pale cross all the more impossible to miss. The weathered but boldly lettered inscription "ARRIVED IN COLONY 1850" shown in photograph 2 of appendix 3, serves as a reminder of the voyage the family had made.[279] More importantly, they were proclaiming their position as pilgrims aboard *The George Seymour*, one of the first four ships of the Canterbury Association.[280] The Anderson memorial is a public declaration of both origins and originality. Not only does it communicate their Scottish roots, but also asserts the claim that they were one of the first families with Scottish roots to settle. Both Jane and John lived into their mid-seventies, having raised their family in New Zealand.[281] As the files collected in *The G. R. MacDonald Dictionary* record, the Anderson family did incredibly well in their endeavours in the

[276] Mark Twain, *Following the Equator: A Journey Around the World* (Public Domain, 1899): 230.
[277] Barker, 2000, 72.
[278] Appendix 3, Photograph 2.
[279] Appendix 3, Photograph 3.
[280] Mark Wilson, Victoria Cook, and Margaret Copland, *The First Four Ships*, A Christchurch Press Project, accessed March 11, 2019, http://www.firstfourships.co.nz/index.php.
[281] G. R. Macdonald, "Macdonald Dictionary Record: John Anderson", *The G. R. Macdonald Dictionary,* 1952-1964, https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/objects/707863.

Canterbury colony.[282] The monument in Addington Cemetery speaks to this displaying the success of the family that allowed for their display of wealth, religious devotion, and Scottishness.

The desire to inscribe the date and sometimes the ship by which they arrived on the earliest memorials in Addington Cemetery is characteristic of a pilgrim's voyage. Photograph 4 of appendix 3 of the small wooden cross in memory of Mary Ann Hart, wife of would-be Christchurch mayor Michael Brannan Hart, recollects her as "A courageous women who came to Christchurch aboard the "Cressy" in 1850", another of the first four ships.[283] It was not only the first four ships that were worth mentioning. The monument of Mary and Jabez Milner has been replaced with a small plaque. The small plot size and limited inscriptive detail as viewable in photograph 5 of appendix 3 suggests the original was fairly modest in design, but including details of their arrival from aboard the *Chrysolite* in 1861 clearly was of importance.[284] It may well have been a thing of pride as the ship's voyage took a mere seventy-four days from London to Lyttleton Heads, a very quick passage at the time.[285] Perhaps more importantly, the identification of 'passenger' aboard such ships provided a solid membership to the broader colonial society as one of the first of their kin to arrive in the new province. It created a symbolic patrimony obtained through the alliance with their fellow kinsmen and sharing of economic and social history.[286]

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[282] See *The G. R. Macdonald Dictionary,* 1952-1964. Note: there are multiple records for both John Anderson and his sons.
[283] Wilson, Cook, and Copland, accessed March 11, 2019; G. R. Macdonald, "Macdonald Dictionary Record: Michael Brennan or Brannan Hart", *The G. R. Macdonald Dictionary,* 1952-1964, https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/objects/711965; Note: Mayor in 1874 but not re-elected due to controversy; Appendix 3, Photograph 4.
[284] Appendix 3, Photograph 5.
[285] Henry Brett, Sir, *White Wings: Fifty Years of Sail in the New Zealand Trade, 1850 to 1900,* (Auckland: The Brett Printing Company Limited, 1924): 351.
[286] Bourdieu, 1977, 59.

The memorial of Ebenezer and Agnes Hay in photograph 6 of appendix 3 is a reminder of European presence in the province prior to the arrival of the Canterbury Association settlers, their headstone giving the date of their arrival as 1840.[287] As early Scottish emigrants sailing aboard the *Bengal Merchant* Ebenezer had planned to purchase land in the North Island but, unable to get a land title there, came to settle in Pigeon Bay.[288] The efforts of Otago and Southland brought in many assisted migrants from Scotland during the 1850s and 1860s when the Scots accounted for over 52.2 per cent of the population in the death registers of those regions.[289] Canterbury also made efforts with assistance schemes aimed at Scottish domestic servants and shepherds, approximately a quarter of whom came from the Highlands.[290] Many Scots arrived first in the southernmost provinces and later moved to urban centres in the north, including Canterbury.[291] Southern migration preferences of the Scots in New Zealand gives some explanation as to why the whole of the east of the South Island was considered a bit more Scottish than the North Island.[292]

Patterns of migration and settlement are traceable in cemeteries as a result of the expression of ethnic identity.[293] Statements on memorials can highlight journeys and connections throughout the colonial world. A person's place of death was not necessarily the same as the first place they had migrated to for the then transient New Zealand population.[294] Such is the case of Robert Park whose memorial shown in photograph 7 of

[287] Appendix 3, Photograph 6.
[288] G. R. Macdonald, "Macdonald Dictionary Record: Ebenezer Hay", *The G. R. Macdonald Dictionary,* 1952-1964, https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/objects/712021.
[289] Phillips & Hearn, 151.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Ibid, 151-153.
[292] Ibid, 151-152.
[293] Deed, 207.
[294] Jock Phillips & Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand immigrants from England, Ireland & Scotland, 1800-1945* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008):142.

appendix 3 boldly states that he "ARRIVED IN WELLINGTON" and was the chief surveyor for the province, before moving to Canterbury to lease the Winchmore station, near Ashburton, from his brother-in-law George Hart.[295] Colonials did not all arrive in New Zealand directly from the British Isles.[296] The Otago gold rush bought thousands from Tasmania in the 1860s, although Australian stickmen were common in Canterbury since the early days of the province and New Zealand was at one point partly colonised by Australia.[297] Many had already spent a few years in the sheep stations of New South Wales, goldfields of Victoria, or suburbs of Sydney or Melbourne.[298] There was, and still is, often a back and forth flow between Australia and New Zealand.[299] The Rankin family were certainly aware of the connection. George, the son of Margaret Rankin, who died in Melbourne on the 7th of June 1889, still was given his place on the family memorial pictured in photograph 8 of appendix 3.[300]

The transition in England and Scotland from the parish churchyards to the new suburban cemeteries coincided with annexation and organised settlement in New Zealand.[301] In the first few decades, as most colonials were British, burial practices they brought with them of the churchyard and the cemetery closely reflect those of Britain.[302] However, as Deed rightly highlights, commemoration of the dead was already variously practised across Aotearoa by Māori long before the stylistic preferences and influences from

[295] G. R. Macdonald, "Macdonald Dictionary Record: Robert Park", *The G. R. Macdonald Dictionary,* 1952-1964, https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/objects/715979; Appendix 3, Photograph 7.
[296] Rhodes, 420.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Phillips & Hearn, 159.
[299] Ibid.
[300] Appendix 3, Photograph 8.
[301] Deed, 29.
[302] Ibid.

Christianity and antiquity arrived.[303] Māori maintained notable religious and ideological differences that had origins centuries before European contact, however, urupā increasingly resembled European cemeteries as the nineteenth century progressed.[304] Most second-generation cemeteries tended to be laid out with sectarian divisions, avoiding the appearance of collective burials, and by the 1870s unification of landscapes and more cohesive designs are common practice.[305] Deed links the emergence of second-generation cemeteries to the influence of colonials originating from Glasgow and Edinburgh.[306] Addington Cemetery, having implemented this more than a decade earlier, is telling of the Scottish influence in its design and shows how negotiating differences impacted the developing colonial culture.[307] It was of course known for some time as the 'Scotch Cemetery' and managed by St Andrew's Presbyterian Church.

Statements and symbols of ethnicity

Ariès noted that it was during the nineteenth century a movement towards displays of individualism and sentimentality in memorials became common.[308] Memorialisation linked a place to an individual giving presence after death for those that were unwilling to accept their departure.[309] For some, the connection of the individual to 'place' was not only where they had finally come to rest but also of the native lands from where they had departed. The Reverend Fraser is quoted as saying "None of us would like to be called New

[303] Ibid.
[304] Ibid, 90.
[305] Ibid, 158.
[306] Ibid, 96.
[307] Alison Clarke, "Calendars, cemeteries and the evolution of colonial culture", *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 12 (2011): 133.
[308] Ariès, 1974.
[309] Ibid, 70.

Zealanders".[310] Greenaway asserts that this statement reveals Reverend Fraser was of the opinion that the English, Scottish, or Irish heritage of the settler community should take precedence over any notion of national identity as 'New Zealanders', who were as Greenaway notes, originally, Māori.[311] The cemetery is a forum where ethnic and religious identity, which is often closely tied, can be asserted through language and symbolism.[312] Some memorials at Addington Cemetery provide details of settler origins by including county and country of birth in inscriptions, a practice observed in New Zealand's historic cemeteries elsewhere.[313] References of nativity on memorials in Addington Cemetery are most commonly found in reference to the earliest memorials and when the cemetery began to reach capacity during the 1880s through to the first decade of the twentieth century. This is a similar trend to what Edgar found at the denominationally separated Southern Cemetery in Dunedin, where the trait is most popular earlier in the 1860s, although resurges later in the 1900s.[314]

Like in Dunedin, it is most likely that the latter represents the first generation of colonials that had spent their adult lives in Christchurch.[315] The importance of ethnicity in determining identity amongst colonials is shown by the recollection of their place of birth in death.[316] When birthplace is referenced it is most commonly Scotland, perhaps owing to the management of the cemetery by St Andrew's Presbyterian Church with England being fairly common, Ireland to a lesser extent, Wales rarely, and few which are distinct references to

[310] Cited in Greenaway, 37.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Deed, 183.
[313] Ibid, 182; Trapeznik & Gee, 2016, 328; Edgar, 63.
[314] Edgar, 63.
[315] Trapeznik & Gee, 2016, 328.
[316] Deed, 182.

China, shown in photographs 13 and 14 of appendix 3.[317] There are occasional references to other places in Europe, such as the memorial of Lars Jacobson from Norway or Augustus J. E. Schwartz from Denmark shown in photographs 9 and 10 of appendix 3.[318] Predominantly they represent the British and Irish settler population, which was the overwhelming majority. Memorials also often make use of ethnic or national symbols such as the English rose, Irish shamrock or clover, and the Scottish thistle which are also symbolic of the connection between ethnic and religious identity.[319]

Ethnic diversity certainly can be clearly seen when examining the memorials of Addington Cemetery. Bystanders were intrigued during the burial of Dok Kee, a Chinese man, at Addington Cemetery in 1889 by the minister of Addington United Methodist Church.[320] The small torches that lit the graveside and inclusion of personal items buried with the coffin stood out as different.[321] The Chinese have often been forgotten in recollections of colonial New Zealand. Although they are few, the inscriptions on Chinese memorials in photographs 13 and 14 of appendix 3 clearly signifies their social presence and ethnic identity.[322] Most Chinese arrived in New Zealand seeking wealth in the goldfields, the majority coming from Guangdong province in the southern region of China.[323] Place of origin was considered as very important on Chinese monuments in colonial New Zealand.[324] This is likely due to the custom of repatriating remains and was a way to provide a record of where

[317] Appendix 3, Photograph 13 & 14.
[318] Appendix 3, Photograph 9 & 10.
[319] Deed, 182.
[320] Wilson J., 221.
[321] Ibid.
[322] Appendix 3, Photograph 13 &14.
[323] Julia Bradshaw, *Golden Prospects: Chinese on the West Coast of New Zealand,* (Greymouth, N.Z; Shantytown: West Coast Historical & Mechanical Society, 2009): 12.
[324] Deed, 182; Note: Of the 114 in the Chinese section of Dunedin's Southern Cemetery the county of origin is named on 104.

their bones should be returned to.[325] The Cheong Sing Tong burial society, by way of subscription, assisted in funding for the repatriation of Chinese remains.[326] As New Zealand adhered to the British Burial Acts of the 1850s prohibiting the disturbance of human remains except by special licence, such a practice was at times problematic for many in the settler community.[327] A special permit was submitted for the exhumation of Ye Pat Sung on 12 September 1902.[328] The record appears to be all that is left connecting him to Addington Cemetery, although perhaps his grave marker lists a different name.

As is the case throughout the South Island, particularly in former gold-mining towns, some Chinese grave markers can still be found.[329] The red lettering has completely faded with time but the indentations of a combination of Chinese characters and English in the photograph of the memorial of Yum Gee is still readable.[330] It was this very grave marker that sparked my interest in expanding knowledge of the Addington Cemetery as an undergraduate. The inscription reveals some details of his ethnic roots back in China. Yum Gee, otherwise known as Chen Renzhi, died at the age of 43 around 5-7 pm on the 29th of the second month in the year of the mouse which is 10th of April 1888 by the Western Calendar. He was a Cantonese man from Zengcheng County in the Guangdong Province. The tombstone's inscription, written in Mandarin, was done by his son and would have been intended for his personal use to honour his father. Although they are referred to as sojourn travellers, the Chinese did make attempts to assimilate. The integration of the Chinese

[325] Ibid, 182.
[326] Ibid, 68.
[327] Trapeznik & Gee, 2013, 42; Lisa J. Truttman, "The "Resurrectionists": The Exhumation of Chinese Remains in New Zealand", *New Zealand Legacy,* vol. 24, no. 2 (2012): 21.
[328] "R24920156: Ye Pat Sung," Archives New Zealand, Date Approved May 11, 2019, https://www.archway.archives.govt.nz/ViewFullItem.do?code=24920156.
[329] See Bradshaw, 2009.
[330] Appendix 3, Photograph 14; Note: Translation confirmed by Dr Zhifang Song.

characters and English inscription on the memorial of Yum Gee highlights this. This grave marker was intended to tell all passersby, not just the Chinese, that this was the place that Yum Gee, or Chen Renzhi, was memorialised. Burgess, McKenzie and May speculated, like many Chinese in New Zealand during the nineteenth century, that he came to work in the South Island goldfields.[331] Immigration and selection processes were harsh on Chinese, and particularly so in Canterbury.[332] Most Chinese that came during the 1900s were single men as they were discouraged from bringing wives or family, as the grave makers reflect.[333]

The Scottish on the other hand were seen as 'desirable' immigrants by the predominantly Protestant and English elite that governed New Zealand politics.[334] Many of those from the Highlands with agricultural origins had moved to the Lowlands, often close to major cities like Glasgow and Edinburgh, which was sought after by the provincial and later central government.[335] The Scots themselves were viewed as hard-working, moral, and, above all, they were Protestant.[336] There were Caledonian societies throughout the country and were particularly common in most small communities in Otago and Southland.[337] They were charitable organisations, but also deliberately fostered Scottish culture.[338] Photograph 14 of appendix 4 shows the Boag family memorial, which emphasises their Scottish roots in its inscriptions.[339] William Boag was a member, and two years running president, of the Caledonian Society.[340] Tanja Bueltmann notes that there were at least 155

[331] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 32.
[332] Ibid.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Phillips & Hearn, 56.
[335] Ibid.
[336] Ibid.
[337] Ibid, 168.
[338] Ibid, 168-169.
[339] Appendix 4, Photograph 14.
[340] Cyclopedia Company Limited, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Canterbury Provincial District],* (Christchurch: The Cyclopedia Company Limited, 1903): 356.

Scottish associations in New Zealand up to 1930, 102 of which were Caledonian societies.[341] New Zealand was unlike earlier destinations of migration and the benevolence of fraternal societies was not in as much need, but they did still exist.[342]

It was not only those memorialised that often came from afar, but the materials to create the memorials themselves. The photographs 15 and 16 of appendix 3 show the memorials of Alexander Johnston born in Echt, Aberdeenshire, and William Thin, native of Edinburgh that are made from the pink granite which is commonly used throughout Addington Cemetery for monuments proclaiming Scottish nativity.[343] It is not used exclusively by the Scots, however, as seen in the memorial of Henry Noble from Bath in photograph 17 of appendix 3, and does not always signify Scottish heritage.[344] While some granite would have been sourced locally granite gravestones, likely already incised, were transported from Melbourne and as far as Aberdeen, Scotland.[345] The latter certainly would have provided an added 'touch of home' for the Scottish. The Campbell family memorial in photograph 18 of appendix 3, the pillar can be seen in photograph 2, is one such example.[346] It was funded by subscribers and shipped from Scotland aboard the *Selim.* [347] It was described by the local newspapers as "a massive octagonal base" and "pillar of polished red granite … surmounted by a partially veiled urn".[348] It was a Scottish stone brought to New Zealand to be used in memorial for a Scottish family. A symbol that features in Addington

[341] Tanja Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850-1930,* no. 19, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011): 66-67.
[342] Bueltmann, 66.
[343] Appendix 3, Photograph 15 & 16.
[344] Appendix 3, Photograph 17.
[345] Edgar, 79.
[346] Appendix 3, Photograph 18 & 2. Note: The towering pillar has since toppled over into the neighbouring Anderson plot.
[347] Lyttelton Times, "TOWN &COUNTRY", *Lyttelton Times*, 28 April 1882, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/LT18820428.2.20.
[348] Lyttelton Times, 28 April 1882.

Cemetery that is distinctly Scottish is the thistle as shown in photographs 19 and 20 of appendix 3.[349] "Thorns also thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field;"[350] The association of the thistle with earthly sorrow through the curse of God to Adam makes its funerary use appropriate.[351] As a thorny plant, it is also connected to the crown of thorns and the Passion of Christ.[352] They can be found on monuments either as prominent features or embellishing monuments and display the relationship between ethnicity and religion.

John Marshman, the emigration agent of Canterbury, advised Irish emigrants should be altogether refused.[353] However during the 1870s and 1880s their numbers, both Catholic and Protestant did increase.[354] Canterbury had a low proportion of Irish migrants in relation to the rest of New Zealand in the 1871 census but the last three decades of the nineteenth century saw numbers rise.[355] Through the 1870s Canterbury became the location of choice for Irish migrants coming from both the region of Ulster in the north and Munster to the south of Ireland.[356] Fraser notes kinship ties led to Irish Catholics settling in the Addington suburb through the 1870s and "Distinctive clusters had formed" by 1878.[357] Phillips and Hearn note that by 1911 Canterbury in general had significantly more Irish-born than the rest of New Zealand.[358] The Irish are represented in the Addington Cemetery in memorials like that of the Bertram family, their memorial pictured in photographs 21 and 22 of

[349] Appendix 3, Photograph 19 & 20.
[350] Genesis 3:18.
[351] Keister, 55.
[352] Ibid, 55.
[353] Phillips & Hearn, 59; Fraser, 1997, 45-46.
[354] Phillips & Hearn, 59.
[355] Ibid, 156 & 158.
[356] Phillips & Hearn, 156.
[357] Lyndon Fraser, *To Tara Via Holyhead: Irish Catholic Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Christchurch,* (Auckland {N.Z.}: Auckland University Press, 1997): 108-111.
[358] Phillips & Hearn, 156.

appendix 3.[359] The shamrocks embellishing the epitaph of the Bertram family memorial are a precursor to the statement of nativity of John Thomas Bertram, "LATE OF COLVIN'S HILL COUNTY ARMAGH IRELAND" in Northern Ireland, who died 1911.[360] The statement of nativity giving away that this was more than likely a Protestant Irish family. Irish legend proclaims that the clover, with its three leaves, was taken to Ireland by St Patrick as an enduring symbol of the trinity and renamed the shamrock.[361] The clover was, however, a symbol of vitality and abundant growth to the pagan Celts long before the arrival of Christianity in Ireland.[362] The history of its association with ethnicity and religion makes its use a clear statement of Irish identity.

While the Irish were predominantly from rural backgrounds, as was desired by promoters of New Zealand migration, some of the English-born that dominated the government considered them uneducated, unreliable, with few skills and a propensity to drink.[363] Additionally, with the exception of the north, the Irish were predominantly Catholic and anti-Catholicism had followed settlers to colonial New Zealand.[364] Some of the early influential figures like John Robert Godley were of Anglo-Irish background, although the distinguishing trait was that he, like the Bertram family, was a Protestant.[365] From 1891 to the Great War numbers declined, and did so even further in the years after.[366] In part, because southern Ireland was no longer included in the United Kingdom, but notably it was a result of New Zealand learning the distinct difference between the Ulster Protestants in

[359] Appendix 3, Photograph 21 & 22.
[360] Appendix 3, Photograph 21 & 22.
[361] Keister, 45.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Phillips & Hearn, 59.
[364] Ibid, 58-59.
[365] Ibid 60.
[366] Ibid 64.

the north of Ireland who were welcome and the southern Catholics who were rather less so.[367] Although as Fraser notes, many Irish migrants put the "count in which they had been working rather than their place of birth" on applications for passage which could make distinctions difficult.[368]

Although the English were by far the largest group amongst the colonials they were under-represented in New Zealand compared with the populations back in Britain and Ireland.[369] As Phillips and Hearn note, this was not because the English were considered as 'undesirable' but more likely a result of conditions back home.[370] England was more prosperous and offered more economic opportunities than Scotland or Ireland, as such they were less likely to want to leave.[371] While the expression of English nativity does not appear to be as common as that of the Scottish it certainly follows closely. The memorials in photographs 17 and 23 of appendix 3 for Henry Noble, from Bath in the south, and Elizabeth Haywood, from Macclesfield toward the north of England, are an example of their distribution.[372] Examples can be found from various locations throughout England.

In Christian symbolism the red rose symbolises martyrdom and white rose of purity.[373] In Victorian cemeteries roses frequently are used to adorn the graves of women.[374] The Virgin Mary is sometimes referred to as the "rose without thorns" due to the belief she was without original sin and as a reference to thorn-less roses in paradise.[375] This was likely motivation for the faintly visible Rose adorning the memorial of Emily Ann, who

[367] Ibid.
[368] Fraser, 1997, 37.
[369] Phillips & Hearn, 66-67.
[370] Ibid, 67.
[371] Ibid.
[372] Appendix 3, Photograph 17 & 23.
[373] Keister, 54.
[374] Ibid.
[375] Ibid.

died in 1887, and Olivia, who died in 1907.[376] As the inscription in photograph 27 of appendix 3 records, they were both the wife of Charles Green.[377] It has also long been used as an English national symbol. A rose features at the top of the monument of Thomas Rickets, late of Wiltshire England, shown in photograph 24 of appendix 3.[378] For the English this was an effective way to express both ethnic or national identity and religious devotion.

In 1871 census records 62.7 per cent of Canterbury settlers from the United Kingdom as being born in England.[379] Phillip and Hearn found that these figures decreased thereafter and Canterbury seemed to have not had the same attraction for the English as previously.[380] When looking at the place of birth of those that died they found that after 1891 the province was under the national average for people from England.[381] The reputation of Canterbury's Englishness is easy to exaggerate.[382] Certainly, the English made up the majority of the colonial population but such statistics can overshadow the diversity of colonial Canterbury. The diversity of memorials in Addington Cemetery, the first public cemetery, show the other cultural contributions to the emerging society. However, from 1840 the cultural and institutional framework of New Zealand was heavily shaped by the power of the British Empire.[383] Religious criteria was even imposed in establishing Canterbury as a Wakefield settlement, whose settlers were to belong to the Church of England.[384] This resulted in the influence of the English in New Zealand exceeding their

[376] Appendix 3, Photograph 27.
[377] Appendix 3, Photograph 27.
[378] Appendix 3, Photograph 24.
[379] Phillips & Hearn, 146.
[380] Ibid.
[381] Ibid, 146-147.
[382] Ibid, 147.
[383] Ibid, 160.
[384] Deed, 66.

numbers.[385] It was, after all, the dominance and sense of exclusivity of the Church of England at Barbados Street that followed English legislation that led to the establishment of Addington Cemetery in the first place.[386]

Familiar faces

Laqueur has argued that cemetery memorials did not represent the Christian community of the living and the dead as the churchyard did, rather they conveyed, and continue to convey memory, and community of all sorts of people and purposes.[387] Put plainly, cemeteries represent a more diverse portion of society than the churchyard ever had. Large numbers of those colonials that have been categorised as English often came from the 'Celtic fringe' of the southwest, especially Cornwall, who differed from the English that came from the 'Home Counties'.[388] They came with distinct traditions and a language that was a form of Gaelic, similar to that traditionally spoken in Ireland and Scotland.[389] Arguably, if the percentage of those that came from England's Celtic fringes is added to the numbers from Scotland and Ireland then a clear majority of nineteenth-century migrants to New Zealand were of Celtic heritage.[390] Certainly, ethnic diversity and identity is not as clear cut as statistical information may show and warrants future investigation.

Memorials in Addington Cemetery at times provide a different version of the history of ethnic roots in Christchurch. Very few immigrants born in Wales came to New Zealand between the main migration period of 1853 and the Great War.[391] The reasons for this are

[385] Phillips & Hearn, 161.
[386] Ibid, 165.
[387] Laqueur, 2015, 212-213.
[388] Phillips & Hearn, 67.
[389] Ibid, 68.
[390] Ibid.
[391] Ibid, 53.

speculative as they did move in considerable numbers to other places such as the United States and Canada.[392] At no time did the Welsh, in numbers or as organised groups, ever come to New Zealand during the settlement period.[393] Statements of nativity of settlers from Wales, while not common, do feature as shown in photograph 25 of appendix 3 of the memorial of Henry Jones, native of North Wales.[394] Their low numbers often mean they were statistically lumped in with English figures, which could hide information pertaining to Welsh immigration. Memorials can give deeper insights where statistics might generalise. As the memorial of Henry Jones does show, however, they were here and wished to be recognised and remembered as Welsh, not English.

Photographs 2 and 26 in appendix 3 of the Anderson family memorial and the Celtic cross that adorns the memorial of John George Blyth and his sister Marion Mackay Blyth certainly intend to display the Scottish heritage of each family.[395] On the Blyth memorial the inscription recording Belfast, Ireland, as the place of death of Marion, shown in photograph 26 of appendix 3, certainly has the potential to misdirect visitors as to their Scottishness. Trapeznik and Gee noted that it has been argued that the use of the Celtic cross on memorials may signify clan affiliation for those of Scottish ancestry, or be symbolic of Mother Earth and national pride for those of Irish.[396] However other research has found this not always be the case, with the Celtic cross used by those belonging to the Church of England.[397] At a glance, such details can be misleading, contradictory or even confusing without contextual information. As Philips and Hearn found in their research, birthplace

[392] Ibid, 54.
[393] Ibid.
[394] Appendix 3, Photograph 25.
[395] *FamilySearch*, "John George Blyth: New Zealand Probate Records, 1855-2003", https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-L1V6; Appendix 3, Photograph 2 & 26.
[396] Trapeznik & Gee, 2016, 326.
[397] Ibid.

does not always indicate ethnic identity.[398] The death place of Marion Blyth, inscribed as Belfast, Ireland, is testimony to the mobility of colonials and the ethnic ties it brought.

The 'face-to-face' communities that came with life in New Zealand resulted in interactions between people from various backgrounds and, of course, intermarriage.[399] Photographs 11 and 12 of appendix 3 are examples of such intermarriage.[400] The plaque replacing the damaged memorial of Eliza Hullett nee Davies, of Monmouth Wales, and her loving husband Thomas, born Messingham England, in photograph 11 shows that marriage between people of similar yet different ethnic roots was occurring.[401] As does the memorial of Daniel Henderson, of Scotland, and his wife Alice nee Connolly, from Ireland.[402] Phillips and Hearn quote the work of William Pember Reeves who argued that colonials in New Zealand became "a British race in a sense in which the inhabitants of the British Isles scarcely are" because of the integration of colonial society.[403] Nineteenth-century observers notice the diversity of cemeteries where "All sorts of strangers are intimate neighbours in the dust."[404] But this did not only happen in the cemeteries but in the lives of the living in colonial New Zealand.

[398] Phillips & Hearn, 142.
[399] Ibid, 180.
[400] Appendix 3, Photograph 11 & 12.
[401] Appendix 3, Photograph 11.
[402] Appendix 3, Photograph 12.
[403] Phillips & Hearn, 180; William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud: Ao Tea Roa,* (London [England]: Horace Marshall & Son, 1898): 399-400.
[404] Laqueur, 2015, 310.

Making a new home

Although it may have been the aim of planners when selecting their locations, cemeteries are not separate from the cities they are found in.[405] Acknowledgement of ethnic identity was still clearly of importance but so was the need to express a growing connection, and ownership, to the new landscape. Much of the ethnic roots observed in the cemetery is reiterated throughout the city. The range of materials and public spaces dedicated to the collective memories of the dead extend to cover commemorations in all forms including place names and inscriptions on street signs.[406] While the religious ideologies are often fairly obvious or overt they are can also be interwoven with or alongside some inconspicuous markers of ethnicity. Connections to the ethnic identity of some more well-known or wealthy figures and families memorialised at Adding ton Cemetery can be found in many of the street and suburb names of Christchurch.[407]

The Boag family memorial shown in photograph 14 of appendix 4 along with the street named for them and even the Burnside suburb itself is a statement of success and heritage for the proudly Scottish family in their colonial endeavours.[408] William Boag arrived in New Zealand in 1851 aboard the *Cornwall* and was, "like many other colonists, not burdened with money, but he possessed good health and strength and a determination to succeed".[409] Succeed he did, making a large fortune from his renowned shorthorn cattle, draught horses, and Leicester sheep on the drained swampland, consisting of 1700 acres by

[405] Deed, 8.
[406] Hallam & Hockey, 16.
[407] "Christchurch Street and place names," Christchurch City Libraries, February 2016, https://my.christchurchcitylibraries.com/christchurch-place-names/.
[408] Appendix 4, Photograph 14.
[409] Cyclopedia Company Limited, 356; Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago 1840-1914,* (Dunedin, N.Z: University of Otago Press, 2002): 37; Henry Brett, Sir, 351.

1900, at Burnside, the suburb named by William is a Scottish term for a place at the side of a small burn or stream.[410] Braco Place, named after the Scottish village where William was born, also appears in street directories from 1962 onwards.[411] The inscription of the Boag family memorial seen in its photograph is very clear that it is dedicated to the Scottish family that reside at Burnside.[412]

In naming the colony settlers took influence from family, tradition, and nativity in creating the sense of 'home' that can still be recognised in contemporary Christchurch. The Deans family, integral to the establishment of Addington Cemetery through Jane, certainly left their mark. The suburb of Riccarton named for the parish of John and William Deans birth and Deans Avenue after the family.[413] Armagh Street, named after the Anglican Bishopric of Armagh in Ireland in 1850, was one of the first streets in Christchurch.[414] With the relatively low populations of Irish it may well have been a source of comfort to the Irish Bertram family.[415] Modern visitors remotely familiar with street and suburb name of Christchurch and broader Canterbury will quickly begin to make connections with the family names or birthplaces inscribed on the memorials of Addington Cemetery. The naming of the suburb of Addington itself, while there is some speculation on the specifics, was certainly a reference in homage to Addington near London.[416]

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[410] Cyclopedia Company Limited, 356; McAloon, 2002, 37; "Christchurch Place Names: A – M," Christchurch City Libraries, February 2016, http://christchurchcitylibraries.com/Heritage/PlaceNames/ChristchurchPlaceNames-A-M.pdf.
[411] "Christchurch Street Names: B," Christchurch City Libraries, February 2016, http://christchurchcitylibraries.com/Heritage/PlaceNames/ChristchurchStreetNames-B.pdf.
[412] Appendix 4, Photograph 14.
[413] "Christchurch Street and place names," Christchurch City Libraries, February 2016, https://my.christchurchcitylibraries.com/christchurch-place-names/.
[414] "Christchurch Street Names: A," Christchurch City Libraries, February 2016, http://christchurchcitylibraries.com/Heritage/PlaceNames/ChristchurchStreetNames-A.pdf.
[415] Appendix 3, Photograph 22.
[416] "Christchurch Street Names: A," Christchurch City Libraries, February 2016, http://christchurchcitylibraries.com/Heritage/PlaceNames/ChristchurchStreetNames-A.pdf.

Summary

Memorials in the cemetery show that ethnic diversity was present and expressed by those memorialised at Addington Cemetery. They communicate this in symbolism and statements. It is easy to forget that not so long ago there would have been a diverse range of regional accents heard through the streets of Christchurch. They echo through time in street signs and suburb names that can be found, and tied, to those memorialised in Addington Cemetery. The words of Reverend Fraser of colonials as English, Scottish, and Irish and not, as contemporary society might prefer, New Zealanders are very clear. [417] But for many there was no going back to their various points of origin. They were here and this was to be home. Religious identities, beliefs, and practices shaped individuals, families, and communities creating a 'sense of home' for colonials.[418] Denominational division often made uniform planning problematic and interfered with the working life of the cemetery, which often was reflected by clear ethnic division in early colonial cemeteries.[419] It was not good for business in an integrated society. This not occurring at Addington Cemetery is a reflection of the need for colonials to adapt to the emerging society. They needed to fit in and draw on social networks in any way possible in order to succeed.

The emphasis on ethnic roots in memorials, rather than indifference, served as a means to display connections over vast distances and was a welcome to newcomers that might also have similar roots. Drawing on shared economic and social histories of alliance was less about connecting to the past as it was the success of those in the future. Declarations of arrival in the colony on memorials served as signposts of both origin and

[417] Greenaway, 37.
[418] Clarke, 133.
[419] Deed, 158.

originality. Statements and symbols in stone signifying ethnic roots reinforced identities. Their use on the memorials of Addington Cemetery highlights the historical influence such identities had towards forging contemporary Christchurch and its surrounding suburbs. Ethnic ties allowed colonials to draw on broad ties of kinship, but it was the family unit that was of the utmost importance to living and dying in the colonial world. The next chapter will explore how the memorials of Addington Cemetery highlight the significance of the family unit.

Chapter Four: 'Till Death Do Us Part'

The memorials of Addington Cemetery reveal the pivotal role that the colonial family had in the success or failure for those living and dying in the colony. There is an expansive amount of literature and written records such as wills, biographies, and accounts from newspapers that provide insights towards understanding the colonial family unit. Inclusion of information from memorials enriches existing knowledge of life and death for the colonial family. This chapter focuses on how the remnant landscape of Addington cemetery shows that family unity was central in colonial thought and practices in both life and death. Memorials at Addington Cemetery provide insights into the economic and emotional support that the unity of the colonial family provided in life and death. They are a valuable source of information displaying the changes in colonial thought and practices concerning marriage and the rights and roles of colonial women in the family. The dominance of family plots representing members of society, from all backgrounds, and the tendency for those without family to rely on extended social ties in death reinforces the notion that a stable family unit was believed by colonials to be the key to success. This is expressed in memorials and thought to be important in both life and death.

The high death rates in colonial New Zealand led to the establishment of family plots and large memorials that dominate historic cemeteries.[420] Photograph 1 of appendix 4 that shows the grave marker dedicated to the memory of Margaret Morrow, who died aged twenty-two in 1864, is typical of stele used as family memorials.[421] The detail that stands out most of all is the lack of inscription that makes mention to other family members. The

[420] Deed, 54.
[421] Appendix 4, Photograph 1.

space below her epitaph suggesting an acknowledgement of the frequency of death by her loved ones, and that the living were well aware that there may yet be a need for others to be memorialised there soon. Like the Addington Cemetery visitor writing to the *Globe* newspaper in 1877, the family of Margaret Morrow knew that in time they too must face "the prospect of dissolution".[422] As Thomas Laqueur puts it "Time was not, in fact, kind to most families".[423] The newly emerging cemeteries served the new secular gods of memory and history more so than the old God of religion.[424] The ruling principle of burials in churchyards was custom, whereas the cemetery conformed to the latest in engineering, horticultural, and aesthetic fashions.[425] There was much more association with the emotional economics of the family and sentiment with Christian piety was loosely connected at best.[426] Certainly, religious ideologies were manifested and are displayed in memorials at Addington Cemetery, but this is secondary in relation to the overwhelming emphases on the colonial family unit.

The identities of colonial families are on display to contemporary cemetery visitors, and not only those featured on the most elaborate memorials or those dedicated to prominent figures.[427] The importance of family and gender in New Zealand's colonial history has received much attention from scholars.[428] Social views and the treatment of individuals based on their age, gender, or family position are often easy to recognise.[429] In the

[422] Globe, "ADDINGTON CEMETERY", *Globe,* 17 July, 1877, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/GLOBE18770717.2.15.
[423] Laqueur, 2015, 309.
[424] Ibid, 212.
[425] Ibid.
[426] Ibid.
[427] Mytum, 422.
[428] Jim McAloon, "Family, Wealth and Inheritance in a Settler Society: The South Island of New Zealand c. 1865 – c. 1930", *Journal of Historical Geography* 25, no. 2 (1999): 201.
[429] Mytum, 422.

northwest of Europe, particularly, family systems were distinguishable by single-family households established through monogamous marriage and based on mutual consent, as was long insisted by the church.[430] The success and failure of matrimonial agreements is both the business of and in the interest of the individuals and their extended kin.[431] In Europe marriage tended to occur when couples were in their late twenties or early thirties and able to afford to establish independent households.[432] Phillips and Hearn note that "a pattern that emerged in New Zealand very quickly was for women to marry at an early age".[433] In Canterbury the average age for a women's first marriage was twenty-two in the 1850s, only rising to 23 in the following decades.[434]

Protestant missionary societies made a point of sending married couples into the field, preaching the spiritual and moral equality of men and women, and built family homes that were testimony to their belief in the conjugal family and Western ideologies of public and private.[435] The family was thought of as integral to the success in New Zealand by missionaries and systematic colonisers.[436] As Olssen notes, although there were differences, it was "the Evangelical idealisation of the family that became the Victorian orthodoxy".[437] Fraser notes that for Catholics in Christchurch "selection of a marriage partner not only entailed the formation of certain loyalties and moral obligations but also represented a vital means for the development of primary relations or alliances between groups and

[430] Erik Olssen, "Families and the Gendering of European New Zealand in the Colonial Period, 1840-80", in *The Gendered Kiwi,* ed.Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999): 37; John R. Gillis, *A world of their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for family Values,* 1st ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1996): 7.
[431] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice,* vol. 16. (Cambridge; New York;: Cambridge University Press, 1977): 59.
[432] Olssen, 37; Gillis, 7.
[433] Phillips and Hearn, 167.
[434] Ibid.
[435] Olssen, 40.
[436] Ibid.
[437] Ibid.

individuals. Not surprisingly, Catholic clergy actively encouraged this pattern within their administrative boundaries".[438] In cases where Catholics married a non-Catholic their partner "promised to respect the faith of the Catholic and agreed to bring up the children as Catholics".[439] This provided the subsequent background, and framework, for the European colonisation of New Zealand, in which the family was seen to have a core role by both missionaries and systematic colonisers alike.[440] Many of the systematic colonisers led by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, though sceptics of religion, shared the belief that the family and patriarchal authority was integral towards establishing a civilised society.[441] The emphasis of wives for colonial men was viewed as important towards establishing a happy colony and was to make New Zealand different from those before.[442]

Social disruptions that came about in the 1860s and 1870s caused some to fear the potential of a family breakdown.[443] During the 1860s and 1870s conjugal families were less likely to migrate together, although evidence suggests that kin influenced the structure and patterns of migration.[444] Olssen notes that from the 1860s on it was common for married men to arrive in the colony first before sending for their families once the decision to settle had been made.[445] The gold industry is attributed with having brought an influx of young men that were often noted as the cause of drunkenness, increased prostitution, and rates of violent death.[446] But as May records, statistics do not account for the severity of which laws were regularly enforced on the diggers of the goldfields, nor discrepancies in recording the

[438] Fraser,1997, 56-57.
[439] Ibid, 57.
[440] Olssen, 38.
[441] Ibid, 40.
[442] Ibid, 40-41.
[443] Ibid, 48.
[444] Ibid, 46.
[445] Ibid, 52.
[446] Ibid, 45-46.

differences between convictions made in the goldfields and those in the settled provincial areas.[447] In Canterbury the provincial authorities aimed to control the disparity between the sexes in the flow of immigration.[448] An unbalanced sex ratio and a market for prostitution was something Wakefield had anticipated.[449] Prostitution and syphilis represented the "Old World ills" that many colonists had been attempting to escape, which made the moral quality of the single women immigrants of public concern.[450] Settled or rather stable families were symbolic of the ideal society, while wayfaring men and prostitutes were an evil subject of much debate that only strengthened the consensus of the central importance of family in New Zealand's society.[451]

The prospect of a simple life with greater opportunities and material abundance, including meat, meant migrants felt free from the fear that the financial burdens marriage and children could bring, which provided a sense of security in the knowledge that such things would strengthen, not weaken, the family.[452] As Olssen summarises "It was, indeed, something akin to orgasmic release, aided by a protein explosion."[453] Most families had between seven and twelve children, with cases of many more.[454] It was the children that were the first to truly make themselves at home, and, while they were usually expected to contribute work to the household, visitors from Britain were often surprised at the degree of freedom they had.[455] Some of the things adults have done for children in the old country

[447] Philip Ross May, *The West Coast Gold Rushes,* 2nd revised edition (Christchurch, N.Z: Pegasus, 1967): 284.
[448] May, 271-272.
[449] Olssen, 40 & 47.
[450] Ibid, 47.
[451] Ibid, 48.
[452] Ibid, 42.
[453] Ibid, 42.
[454] Ibid, 42.
[455] Ibid, 43.

had to be learnt and done themselves from an early age in the new colony.[456] A similar observation of adults might also be made. Any women displaying 'hysterical' tendencies or men that were unwilling to become 'a jack of all trades' simply had no place in colonial New Zealand.[457]

Together in the family plot

Before the rise of the cemetery the inscription "Of this parish . . ." was common on tombstones.[458] As the photographs of this thesis show, it is the family name that stands out as the dominant inscription on most memorials.[459] It was generally the patrilineal connections that were the most noteworthy of being publically proclaimed and affirmed individuals to a collective genealogical power base.[460] It is common to come across monuments with family members, particularly children, listed in transcriptions after their parents, although they may have died recently or many years before. Photograph 15 of appendix 4 of the memorial of Hugh Railton Dent, who died in 1877, and his son Henry Robinson, who died in 1876, displays this.[461] Their memorial further emphasising this with the description of Henry as the "INFANT SON OF THE ABOVE WHO PRECEDED HIM".[462] Not only are monuments often appreciated for their aesthetic features but they have also long been recognised as a valuable source of genealogical information.[463] It is of note that this has led to a general focus on the preservation of headstones and monuments in conservation efforts, rather than other features in the landscape of historic cemeteries

[456] Ibid, 43.
[457] Ibid, 43.
[458] Laqueur, 2015, 310.
[459] See Appendices.
[460] Bourdieu, 1977, 38-42.
[461] Appendix 4, Photograph 15.
[462] Appendix 4, Photograph 15.
[463] Deed, 170.

which can also be an invaluable source of information.[464] This can be of particular use to those studying burial locations where grave markers are no longer readable, have been removed, or may have never existed.

If kin relations are "something people *make,* and with which they *do* something," then the family plot and the memorials thereof certainly embody this.[465] They are objects and locations created by the family for the family. Memorials function as mediators that create or maintain connections between those that are living with those that have shifted to potentially inaccessible domains manifested as a result of death.[466] Emotion is socially constructed, created and recreated, which cemeteries display in material form.[467] The symbolism of memorials provides insights into social dynamics and expressions of loss and grief by the living. Jane Carraway, for example, died in 1900 and was memorialised by her husband James Irvine, shown in photograph 10 of appendix 4.[468] While the difference in font style indicates that this memorial was erected by James for his first wife and not for him by his second wife, it is the symbolic use of flowers that is most interesting and telling. Dying at the age of fifty-four, such use of flowers would have been viewed as appropriate, likely witnessed in use on other memorials, and thought of and communicated before her death. Flower symbolism was at its peak in the Victorian period, which appropriately coincided with the rise of the garden cemetery.[469]

[464] Ibid.
[465] Bourdieu, 35.
[466] Hallam & Hockey, 25.
[467] Tarlow,1999, 35.
[468] Appendix 4, Photograph 10.
[469] Keister, 41.

Flowers in the garden cemeteries were symbolic of a range of funerary attributes.[470] As Chapter three touched on, this was often as an adaptation of ancient myth to suit Christian symbolism.[471] Their symbolic use on memorials provides material evidence of emotional connections and unity within the family that written sources do not always include. Victorian and Edwardian wills, for instance, tended to focus on land and property, with religious and sentimental language uncommon.[472] But this is not a lack of caring, rather as a result of the legal language that was used.[473] But memorials allow for expression through inscription and symbolism. Featuring centrally in photograph 10 of appendix 4, the rose on the Carraway memorial is characteristic of its use on memorials dedicated to Victorian women.[474] The six flowers on the side have the appearance of Evening Primrose, symbolic of eternal love, memory, youth, hope, and sadness.[475] The vines, symbolic of the relationship between God and man, weave from bottom to include morning glory –symbolic of resurrection–, grapes –the blood of Christ–, into what resembles a clover at the top.[476] Having come from Londonderry, Ireland, the clover serves a dual purpose, symbolic of ethnic roots as well as its religious connotations.[477] It is a memorial that emulates the sadness that comes with such loss but also of joy and hope in the prospects of religious salvation.

[470] Ibid.
[471] Ibid.
[472] Jalland, 1996, 224.
[473] Ibid.
[474] Keister, 54.
[475] Ibid, 46-47.
[476] Ibid, 50, 57, & 59.
[477] G. R. Macdonald, "Macdonald Dictionary Record: James Irvine", *The G. R. Macdonald Dictionary,* 1952-1964, https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/objects/712625.

Graves were a site for remembrance and the frequent visitation and maintenance by loved ones was common.[478] Given the significance of graves to families their maintenance, planting, and general tidying was the concern of the people closest to the deceased, though this often diminished over time and distance.[479] In rare cases the tending to of memorials featuring prominent figures can become the concern of broader society, as an extended family, as a result of being sites of memory for inspirational individuals. Photograph 4 of appendix 4 showing the Malcolm family plot in its well-kept, picturesque, shrine-like state is one such exception.[480] Owing to the memorialisation of suffragette Kathrine Wilson Lovell-Smith, formerly Kate Sheppard, the family plot has become a place of pilgrimage and is visibly in much better condition than many of the surrounding family plots. Kate died age 86, 16 July 1943, and is buried with her mother, Jemima Crawford Malcolm, and brother, Robert Malcolm, who are also listed on the family memorial.[481] The work of those like Kate Sheppard, that began now well over a century ago with the right for women to vote, was instrumental towards shaping growing equality in New Zealand.[482]

Not only were they places for the family to mourn and maintain, but plots were also the property of the family.[483] The nature of property ownership and the long lease of plots in cemeteries meant that families could have memorials erected that may have previously been the privilege of wealthy members of society.[484] Large family plots in the historic cemeteries of New Zealand can often contain multiple headstones for individuals, while

[478] Jalland, 1996, 291-292.
[479] Ibid, 294.
[480] Appendix 4, Photograph 4.
[481] Judith Devaliant, *Kate Sheppard: A Biography: The Fight for Women's Votes in New Zealand – The life of the woman who led the struggle,* (Auckland, N.Z: Penguin Books, 1992): 219; Appendix 4, Photograph 4.
[482] See Barbara Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women,* (Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books, 2016): 113-144.
[483] Laqueur, 2015, 309.
[484] Ibid, 212.

others feature a single monument which may list a few or several family members, although not necessarily all buried there.[485] This is a demonstration of the importance of the family unit in colonial New Zealand and the belief that ties of kinship existed after death.[486] 'Family', at least in Britain, became a word used not for all members of the household, both related and unrelated, but specifically for the conjugal or "nuclear family – a mother, father, and their children – that shared a dwelling until the children left home".[487] Families in New Zealand were often unusually large, potentially owing to the high representation of immigrants from rural communities who adopted limitations to family size later than their urban counterparts.[488]

Deed notes that the practice of marking individual and family plots with fences and enclosures was much more common in New Zealand than in Britain.[489] In the rural cemeteries of America this was often prohibited as it obstructed the desired park-like landscape.[490] From 1840 and into the 1870s paling or picket fences were one of the most common and inexpensive ways of marking graves in New Zealand and had the additional benefit of protecting graves from wandering livestock.[491] Later in the nineteenth-century cast-iron railings –sometimes wire or chains linking stone piers– were often used, appealing to the Victorian love of ornamentation rather than to guard against livestock.[492] Photograph 2 and 3 of appendix 4 show how many enclosures were more simplistic in design and were enclosed with marble, concrete, or rendered brick.[493] But the symbolic notion of unity is still

[485] Deed, 158.
[486] Ibid.
[487] Olssen, 38.
[488] Phillips and Hearn, 167.
[489] Deed, 162.
[490] Ibid.
[491] Ibid.
[492] Ibid, 164-165.
[493] Ibid, 165; Appendix 4, Photograph 2 & 3.

emphasised by such choices of plot design. Such later graves were often concreted of tiled, raised, and sometimes covered with marble chips or seashells, much of which was likely swept away over the years as a result of cemetery maintenance.[494] Any wooden picket fences are long gone from Addington Cemetery, although a number are enclosed with the aesthetic rather than functional metal railings. In New Zealand, not only did this give them a distinct appearance but also emphasised the notion that burial plots were viewed as private property, an idea reinforced in the way that they reflected the architecture of the colonial home.[495] To be memorialised together in the family plot in death was not dissimilar from being together in the family home in life.

It is common to see clasped hands featured on memorials in Addington Cemetery as shown in photographs 9 and 22 of appendix 3 and photograph 5 of appendix 4.[496] They are significant as they communicate the importance of 'togetherness' and the central role of the colonial family unit. The sleeves of the clasped hands in photograph 5 of appendix 4 showing the Leadley family memorial appear to be gender-neutral.[497] This is symbolic of the heavenly welcome and earthly farewell of Clara Elizabeth Leadley.[498] There were many cases of death by drowning in the various waterways throughout New Zealand used as highways for travellers, even cases of infanticide, suicide, or unfortunate drunks.[499] The inscription stating "GOODBYE" on the Jacobson memorial, in photograph 9 of appendix 3, also displays a common earthly farewell.[500] But the clasped hands of memorials often also symbolise

[494] Deed, 165.
[495] See Deed, 162.
[496] Appenix 3, Photograph 9 & 22; Appendix 4, Photograph 5.
[497] Appendix 4, Photograph 5.
[498] Keister, 108.
[499] Fraser, 2012, 110.
[500] Appendix 3, Photograph 9.

matrimony, particularly when the hands are clearly one masculine and one feminine.[501] Such is the case with their use on the Jacobson memorial, the left sleeve and hand more feminine than the right. The anticipation of a continuation of marital bliss in heaven was a helpful form of consolidation.[502]

Being 'together', in both a physical and spiritual meaning, with your loved ones was important in life and death for colonials as it provided a sense of comfort.[503] It was the Christian concept of immortality that gave this, through the belief of internal life with both God and loved ones.[504] Realistically, it was not always practical or achievable to have the mortal remains of family all buried in the same plot. But the family plot was a site of memory that was not only material but symbolic and functional.[505] Family members may have been listed on headstones, although not necessarily buried in the plot.[506] Inclusion of individuals' names on the family memorial could be a way to mitigate the absence of the body under such unthinkable circumstances. This is demonstrated in photographs 8 and 26 of appendix 3 of the Rankin and Blyth family memorials, previously mentioned in chapter three.[507] George Rankin may have died in Melbourne and Marion Blyth in Belfast, but the inclusion of their names on their family memorials allowed a central location for family to grieve and remember their loved ones.

[501] Keister, 108.
[502] Jalland, 1996, 242.
[503] Ibid, 283.
[504] Ibid.
[505] Hallam & Hockey, 34.
[506] Deed, 206.
[507] Appendix 3, Photograph 8 & 26.

Death and marriage

The death brings with it, amongst other things, an instantaneous change to family life and structure. Death is a 'life crisis' that causes the physical self, social relations, and the configuration of culture to change and transform in some instances.[508] The high mortality rates of the nineteenth century meant that many people were widowed.[509] Michael Anderson estimated that of marriages in Britain during the 1850s approximately 19 per cent would have been ended through death in the first ten years, and 47 per cent within twenty-five years.[510] By the 1880s figures declined to 13 and 37 per cent respectively and reduced rapidly after 1900, although those that married during the early twentieth century had to face the aftermath of the slaughter of the First World War trenches.[511] As in Britain, the common end for marriages in New Zealand in the late nineteenth century, and through to the twentieth, was death.[512] Brookes notes that "Many settler women married young and had large families".[513] In general, men were usually about four years older than their wives but had a lower life expectancy meaning they were more frequently statistics of death than women, which contributed to widows becoming a growing proportion of the demography as founding generations aged and made prospects of remarriage more likely for men.[514] The Bush family memorial, shown in photograph 11 of appendix 4, is an example of remarriage in colonial Christchurch.[515] Matilda died 16th April 1887, her name inscribed with two of the Bush's children, Charles Herbert and Emily Hope, who had died within days of one another

[508] Hallam & Hockey, 1.
[509] Jalland, 1996, 230.
[510] Anderson, 29-31; Jalland, 1996, 230.
[511] Ibid.
[512] Olssen, 53.
[513] Brookes, 57.
[514] Ibid, 53; Jalland, 1996, 230.
[515] Appendix 4, Photograph 11.

aged six months and two years old respectively.[516] The following year Charles remarried to Mary Astor.[517]

A family that 'fails' to function successfully is problematic and might lead to the ruin of all of its members. It was not uncommon for widowers with dependent children to remarry, often at a speed that was met with some disapproval.[518] Should social ties of kinship, shared interests, acknowledgement of history, and its continuation not be reproduced and maintained then the likelihood of bonds being broken is increased. With the death of a spouse being common, remarriage, particularly for those aged between thirty and forty-five, occurred regularly.[519] Additionally, this was the age when most parents had dependent children, finding a new partner not only meant companionship but could also keep the family intact as children could find themselves in institutional care if parental support fell short.[520] Charles and Mary Astor would have certainly benefitted in this way from their marriage. The fact that Charles was interred and memorialised with his first wife and children, not his new and growing family, seems to further suggest this.

As the period's newspapers recall, Charles himself died in 1902 as a result of a drunken accident that was a long time in waiting.[521] For many widows the fundamental

[516] Lyttleton Times, "Death", *Lyttelton Times,* 18 January, 1873, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/LT18730118.2.9; Press, "Deaths", *Press,* 14 January, 1873, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP18730114.2.7.
[517] *FamilySearch,* "Charles Bush: New Zealand, Civil Records Indexes, 1800-1966", https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q24K-CHL7.
[518] Olssen, 54.
[519] Megan Cook, "Marriage and partnering", *Te Ara – the Encyclopidea of New Zealand,* last modified 4 May, 2017, https://teara.govt.nz/en/marriage-and-partnering: 2.
[520] Cook, 2.
[521] Star, "The Woolston Natality", *Star,* 4 August, 1902, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS19020804.2.19; Press, "News of the day", *Press,* 1 December, 1894, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP18941201.2.26; Press, "Christchurch." *Press,* 16 November, 1885, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP18951116.2.66.1.

obstacle of achieving financial stability was having to care for her dependent children.[522] Strange found that accounts in retrospect of the death of male breadwinners tend to support a parallel between widowhood and poverty.[523] Some widows were fortunate to have adult children that could contribute to household expenses, or those old enough to assist with childcare of their siblings, allowing them to seek employment.[524] It is most likely due to the nature of his untimely death that Charles Bush was declared intestate, having left no will.[525] He was survived by his wife Mary, their two young children – Charles nine and Elsie four – and five other children from his marriage to Matilda, the youngest sixteen and the rest all in their twenties.[526] This may well have left Mary in a far better position at the loss of her husband than some.

Widowhood was the end of marriage, which meant the loss of the central role that so defined the identity and sense of worth of many women.[527] Collective material and symbolic patrimony which could benefit a family unit also produced collective vulnerability should ties be severed.[528] For women, unless remarried, her social identity might remain tied to her dead husband as his widow long after bereavement.[529] The photographs of the family memorials at Addington Cemetery reflect this with the prominence given to the husband even when he might have been a widower. For widows and widowers remarriage was one option, though not for all or equally for men and women, to increase prospects for

[522] Julie-Marie Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870-1914,* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 198.
[523] Ibid, 197.
[524] Ibid, 198-199.
[525] *FamilySearch,* "Charles Bush: New Zealand Probate Records, 1843-2003", Image 19, http://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-GZJK.
[526] "Charles Bush: New Zealand Probate Records, 1843-2003", Image 19.
[527] Jalland, 1996, 230.
[528] Bourdieu. 1977, 39-40.
[529] Strange, 197.

themselves and their families. Women may have been particularly vulnerable but they were also adept at 'making ends meet' by stretching resources and calling on networks of support in the community.[530] Most could not afford to employ domestic servants to assist, and even those that could found that "workers were scarce and wages high".[531] Religious faith, memories of their lost spouse, and love of family and children served as three main sources of comfort, although it was more significant for women than men as they generally did not have work to seek refuge in, and had less prospect of remarriage.[532]

It may have been that the marriage between Charles and Mary was out of necessity and for mutual benefit, with both intending to continue life with the spouse of their respective first marriages after death. It may too have been that it made financial sense to make use of the existing plot and memorial to allow for the living to cope with the burdens which death brought. In addition, the wider kin network was more important than the spouse.[533] After the death of Jane Carraway her husband, James Irvine, was remarried to Christina Irvine, nee Tulloch. The second marriage though relatively short –8 years– would have been to the benefit of both James and Christina. As photograph 10 of appendix 4 shows, Christina is mentioned as the wife of James on the Irvine memorial but buried as Christina Tulloch in the family plot.[534] The plaque on the border of the plot in photograph 12 of appendix 4 is inscribed with "THE TULLOCH FAMILY", a boldly lettered statement of the emphasis on family in colonial life and death.[535] Although there is no lasting monument, the plaque and concrete surroundings of the family plot is still symbolic of family unity.

[530] Ibid, 200.
[531] Brookes, 60.
[532] Jalland, 1996, 240.
[533] Olssen, 39.
[534] Appendix 4, Photograph 10.
[535] Appendix 4, Photograph 12.

Probate records are often used to track the origins of wealth within families by those researching genealogical information. Fortunes were amassed for the family, not the individual, and intended to last into the next generation.[536] It was often the women left as the head of a family that had the critical role ensuring its passing to the next generation.[537] McAloon noted that quantitative information gathered from probates only state wealth at death are often biased towards the elderly, and are not always clear in stating how wealth was obtained.[538] Bettina Bradbury points out that prior to 1885 wills made by married women were considered void if made without their husband's consent unless she was widowed.[539] They are, however, an excellent source of evidence of intimate relationships between husbands and wives, parents and children, and of extended family, friends or neighbours that made up the family structures integral to the accumulation of wealth.[540] For the rural middle-class dedication to domestic production and community service was viewed as traits of respectable women.[541]

Much of the vital contributions made by women towards the prosperity of farming enterprises goes unrecognised.[542] "The rudimentary nature of colonial society meant that all immigrant women of whatever social status, were involved in household tasks".[543] The domestic tasks of preparing and keeping food called for skill and ingenuity on the part of colonial women.[544] Brookes gives details of the various tasks involved form making "jam jars

[536] McAloon, 1999, 209.
[537] Ibid, 212.
[538] Ibid, 201.
[539] Bettina Bradbury, "From Civil Death to Separate Property: Changes in the Legal Rights of marriage Women in Nineteenth-Century New Zeland", *New Zealand Journal of History,* 29, 1 (1995): 42-43.
[540] McAloon, 1999, 202.
[541] Ibid, 205.
[542] Ibid, 206.
[543] Charlotte Macdonald cited in Brookes, 60.
[544] Brookes, 60.

out of beer bottles" to "cheese-making" for additional income making them "vital to the economy of the family".[545] The daily routine of colonial women in New Zealand involved hard physical labour.[546] A life of dairy farming, vegetable gardening, and time spent in the kitchen has been portrayed as a potentially more rewarding existence for women than the one they would have otherwise had back in Britain, although such romanticising can overlook the incredibly hard work such a lifestyle entailed.[547]

Given Addington Cemetery is the place memorialising suffragette Kate Sheppard, it may come as a surprise to some that New Zealand was not a pioneer in married women's property rights.[548] In England the Married Women's Property Acts in 1870 and 1882 gave wives some legal recognition and control over their estates giving them legal recognition and the ability to sue in court.[549] New Zealand and the United States law did closely followed the English doctrine, although in parts of the USA, notably in New York, reform legislation had been passed as early as the 1840s.[550] Bradbury notes that "Between 1870 and 1884, the majority of wives in New Zealand enjoyed less legal autonomy than women in England, some parts of Canada, or the United States".[551] Very few women prior to the 1880s had wills due to the 'civil death' at the altar which granted their husbands control of any property she may have owned at the time and all subsequent income received thereafter.[552] The introduction of New Zealand's 1884 Married Women's Act gave some limited legal entitlement and generally only applied to inherited assets, property settled on them by their

[545] Ibid.
[546] Brookes, 60.
[547] Ibid, 205-206.
[548] Ibid, 206.
[549] Stone, 669.
[550] McAloon, 1999, 206.
[551] Bradbury, 53.
[552] Ibid, 42; Fraser, 2012, 110.

husbands, and income that was clearly and consistently kept separate, with no concept of community property included.[553]

On visits to the cemetery others observing the memorials often comment on their surprise of the apparent subordinate position women seem to be given on many of the family memorials. Although scholars have shown otherwise, legislation and social practices of the period often reinforce the view that family economic success was driven and dominated by the husband which overlooks the integral role many women played.[554] Such things gloss over the achievements of, albeit, well-to-do women like Jane Deans –integral to establishing Addington Cemetery–, or indeed the aforementioned Kate Sheppard. Certainly, it was Kate Sheppard's achievements in life that make the Malcolm family memorial in photograph 4 of appendix 4 resonate through time with so many.[555] Further, as McAloon notes, while pioneering is seen as a male endeavour, women have been portrayed in various ways which often express local versions of the domestic ideal of 'True Womanhood'.[556] The experiences of women were not uniformly shaped by domestic ideologies of the time, although gendered roles and expectations of femininity served as encouragement. [557]

In memorials the identities of individuals and families are emphasised or negated to the interpretation of visitors through their use of text, symbolism, and design.[558] Families with a low income might save hard with the intention of achieving a level of respectability in death that had been denied in life.[559] A respectable funeral and tombstone, rather than a

[553] McAloon, 1999, 206.
[554] Ibid, 211.
[555] Appendix 4, photograph 4.
[556] McAloon, 1999, 205.
[557] Catharine Coleborne, "Health and Illness, 1840s – 1990s" in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand,* ed. Giselle Byrnes (South Melbourne, Vic: Oxford University Press Australia and New Zealand, 2009): 493.
[558] Mytum, 421-422
[559] Deed,73.

luxury, was seen as a necessity.[560] With the family name the prominent feature on most memorials, it is the male head of the family that others are connected to through statements like 'children of' or 'wife of the above'.[561] This is reflected in the photographs of appendix 4.[562] Women are often mentioned on memorials with reference to their connection to their husband or other male relation.[563] This is a common occurrence that features on the majority of the family memorials, across all socio-demographics, in Addington Cemetery and is shown in most of the photographs of family memorials in the appendices of this thesis. A wife's legal identity was recognised as part of her husband's, whom she followed and ran the home for.[564] It was not uncommon to leave children to be raised by relatives far from their parents, rather it was an established way of life for colonial families, which often left mothers with the difficult decision of being with their husbands or staying with their children.[565] The role of the colonial wife was to support her husband. In colonial New Zealand marriage has been described by scholars as "the main occupation of women."[566] However, in the colonial context this became less dominant over time and there was often more expression of satisfaction and purpose from women in New Zealand than their counterparts in Britain.[567]

[560] Ibid.
[561] Ibid, 180.
[562] Appendix 4.
[563] Ibid.
[564] Olssen, 44.
[565] Gilderdale in Barker, 12-14.
[566] Raewyn Dalziel, "The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History,* 11, 2 (1977): 115; Bradbury, 41.
[567] Daziel, 115.

Keeping it together

Family resources were often critically impaired after the loss of a wage-earner.[568] It is of little wonder that 'keeping healthy' was a key concern amongst nineteenth-century Australian and New Zealand colonials and was a role taken on by women in the colonial home.[569] There was considerable division of labour, which evidence suggests was accepted, although the educated women did express feelings of irritation at their subordinate status and limited role compared to their male counterparts.[570] The household was not only considered the domain of women but work for women also.[571] Men rarely tended the sick, female neighbours or kin tended to assist in cases of illness, and it was not uncommon for women to work in the community as nurses and midwives.[572] The Nightingale-trained nurses arriving in New Zealand during the 1870s and 1880s symbolising the era of the professionalization of female nursing care.[573] Male doctors played a key role, not only as healers but as agents of the process of settling in the new colony, with many taking active political roles.[574]

Good health was integral to the livelihoods of colonial New Zealanders in the late nineteenth-century.[575] The numerous physical dangers frontier life could pose was not the only thing that troubled some colonial New Zealanders.[576] Migration away from the densely populated old world left many feeling alone and without emotional support in their times of

[568] Strange, 195.
[569] Coleborne, 493.
[570] Olssen, 44.
[571] Ibid.
[572] Coleborne, 493.
[573] Ibid, 494.
[574] Ibid, 495.
[575] Ibid, 497.
[576] Ibid, 495.

need.[577] It is not coincidental that asylums were established as early as the 1840's to deal with those unable to cope with the weight of sadness, melancholy, or general anxiety that often was a part of life in the colonies.[578] Many men and women that wrote of sickness, death, and grief in colonial New Zealand.[579]

Colonial transformation of the landscape in frontier societies was, and often is, viewed as a male activity.[580] Isolating occupations such as shepherding, integral to the colonial way of life, brought loneliness for many.[581] It was living apart from family and connections in the colony that fuelled feelings of loneliness further.[582] The Peat family memorial, shown in photograph 13 of Appendix 4, eludes to the physiological burdens of colonial life.[583] The archives reveal that William Peat took his own life by way of suicide, dying in what is described as "great agony" due to poisoning.[584] Traditionally suicide, condemned by the church, meant the forfeiture of all property, denial of a Christian burial, and desecration of the corpse.[585] Williams's prominence on the family memorial is telling of a relaxation of enforcing such harsh penalties on the family. Still, such an unfortunate event left Margaret Peat alone to take care of their ten children. The memorial recording the death of Joseph, aged four, and Margaret, aged twelve, two years later highlighting the constant strain death put on the family.

[577] Ibid.
[578] Ibid, 495-496.
[579] Ibid, 495.
[580] McAloon, 1999, 204; Phillips, 1996, 11-26.
[581] Angela McCarthy, *Migration, Ethnicity, and Madness: New Zealand, 1860-1910,* (Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago University Press, 2015): 124-125.
[582] McCarthy, 126.
[583] Appendix 4, Photograph 13.
[584] Star, "Suicide at Fendalton", *Star,* 7 March, 1885, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18850307.2.16.
[585] Jalland, 1996, 69-70.

Some, alone in households without other women, found life hard, while others found some solace in the writing and receiving of letters, had some daughters, and were quite happy in their lives managing their household.[586] Women developed their own networks of support and what was considered a good neighbourhood was noted by visitors as being sustained through the solidarity of women.[587] The motto of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, "For God, home and humanity" and the slogan of the American envoy to New Zealand, Mary Leavitt, encouraged women to "Do Everything".[588] Making society anew was the aim of temperance organisations and the women's suffrage movement.[589] Emphasis may have been on official kinship relations but practical kinship, which includes the unofficial and even scandalous relationships, were important contributions towards the interests of individuals and groups.[590] It was by 'making' and 'doing' kinship that material and symbolic patrimony was established, and it was its maintenance that kept it strong.[591] After death, memorials are themselves both material and symbolic of the efforts of colonials to maintain such structures.

All-Together

While death constantly lingered at the doors of colonial houses, with friends and family members taken periodically, there were rare cases where entire families were taken in a single fatal swoop. One such example at Addington Cemetery is represented by the memorial of the Campbell family. In 1881 Dr Campbell, his wife, and their five children were

[586] Olssen, 44.
[587] Ibid.
[588] Ibid.
[589] Brookes, 113.
[590] Bourdieu, 35.
[591] Ibid.

all buried in a single plot, their memorial is shown in photographs 2 and 18 of appendix 3.[592] Dr Campbell, his wife Maria Ester, and their five children were headed to Britain aboard the *SS Tararua* which struck a reef on Friday 19th April 1881, becoming New Zealand's worst civilian maritime disaster to this day.[593] The grizzly events that followed led to the death of an estimated one-hundred and thirty-one of the one-hundred and fifty-one passengers, including Dr Campbell and his family.[594] Their towering Campbell family memorial in Addington Cemetery is one of the few known sites of those that perished that were claimed by their relatives and privately buried.[595]

But the cost of even the simplest of gravestones could far exceed a typical funeral.[596] As such, many of the urban poor did not have stones dedicated to their memory and had no will or lavish funeral.[597] Some that died with no family or friends to see to their burial, and often leaving no money to pay for their own plots, funeral, or stone.[598] As such it might fall to the surrounding community to see to their burial and memorial. The practice of the offensive paupers' pits of the old world was seen as something to avoid continuing.[599] The Cemeteries Act (1882) made certain to include consider the burials of those deemed as 'poor persons' –the phrase replacing 'paupers' used in the Cemeteries Management Act (1877)–.[600] Most cemeteries included an area, often on the boundary, for the burial of those

[592] Wilson J,. 221; Appendix 3, Photograph 2 & 18.
[593] Joan MacIntosh, *The Wreck of the Tararua,* (Wellington: Reed, 1970): 11; "SS Tararua Wreck Site, Tararua Acre, and Waipapa Lighthouse Site," Heritage New Zealand: Pouhere Taonga, accessed April 18, 2018, http://www.heritage.org.nz/the-list/details/7785; & G. R. Macdonald, "Macdonald Dictionary Record: Donald Campbell", *The G. R. Macdonald Dictionary,* 1952-1964, https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/objects/709095.
[594] See MacIntosh; "SS Tararua Wreck Site, Tararua Acre, and Waipapa Lighthouse Site"; & G. R. Macdonald, "Macdonald Dictionary Record: Donald Campbell".
[595] MacIntosh, 148.
[596] Trapeznik & Gee, 2016, 321.
[597] Fraser, 2012, 101.
[598] Deed, 179.
[599] Ibid.
[600] Ibid.

'poor persons'.[601] It is possible that some of the 'green' spaces of Addington Cemetery, particularly to the rear and sides, which are not pathways, were used for such a purpose.[602] While grave markers may be non-existent tell tail signs like overgrown rose bushes, shown in photograph 7 of appendix 4, along with burial records are a clear indication that the plot was indeed used.[603] The use of less permanent materials or methods of memorialisation reinforces that 'togetherness' was dominant in social thought during the period under consideration.

In her work on dissection and the destitute in nineteenth-century Britain, Richardson notes that while the poor struggled more with the financial burden of funerary costs, evident in their modest funerals, the *indecent* alternative to not having a *decent* funeral was all too repulsive.[604] Observations of respectable funerary displays were a social statement articulating the aspirations and attainment of social standing by showing a financial ability to appropriately honour the dead.[605] The urban churchyards did not deal kindly with paupers and often showed little respect for their bodies.[606] The perpetual threat of a pauper's burial was simply unacceptable.[607] Wealth was very much connected to respectability and salvation.[608] A good funeral was highly desirable amongst the Victorian working-class and death could even be seen as a way of advancing social standing.[609] It was a display of not only the social normalities in response to death but of social expectations. The spectacle of Victorian funerary displays was not reserved for prominent and wealthy

[601] Ibid.
[602] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 45; Appendix 4, Photograph 6.
[603] Appendix 4, Photograph 7.
[604] Richardson, 116.
[605] Ibid, 115.
[606] Laqueur, 2015, 311.
[607] Richardson, 116.
[608] Morley, 11.
[609] Ibid.

members of society, as the poor believed in honouring their dead and knew just as well as anyone else of how to go about it.[610]

In the context of New Zealand, Trapeznik and Gee found that family and individual wealth played less of a role in determining the nature of a Victorian funeral than on the permanent memorial.[611] For the most, the large freehold plots in cemeteries were out of reach for the urban poor but they were economically indispensable as their accumulative burials yielded more fees per square meter than the individual plots bought by more prosperous clients.[612] Cemeteries brought the rich and poor together, and more people than ever were immortalised in stone.[613]

There are many inscriptions on memorials that indicate that local groups or friends had stepped in to take on the task of ensuring proper memorisation occurred. Such was the case for the young brothers William, nineteen, and Frederick, fourteen, who died 20th of June 1887. The inscription of their memorial that was "ERECTED BY THEIR FRIENDS", shown in photograph 8 of appendix 4, detailing their unfortunate end as the 'New Zealand death' of 'accidentally' drowning.[614] The draped urn atop the memorial of Daniel Mackenzie in photograph 9 of appendix 4, also displays such sentiments.[615] His employees wishing to display "A TOKEN OF RESPECT TO THEIR LATE MANAGER".[616] The expansion through the nineteenth century that emphasised memory of individuals in death resulting in more people having cemetery monuments, even if it was multiple unrelated people on a single

[610] Richardson, 116.
[611] Trapeznik & Gee, 2016, 321.
[612] Laqueur, 2015, 311.
[613] Deed, 26.
[614] Appendix 4, Photograph 8.
[615] Appendix 4, Photograph 9.
[616] Appendix 4, Photograph 9.

tombstone, which gave the working class a much better chance at having their names on a memorial.[617] Certainly, without living family members nearby life and death on the colonial fringes was far more difficult to deal with.

Summary

The colonial family unit was an integral part of successful life in early Canterbury. Not only did it provide economic and emotional support or comfort in life but also in death. Such social thought is reflected in the dominant use of family, rather than individual, memorials in historic cemeteries like Addington. Such memorials show the tendency for those without family to rely on extended social ties in death which reinforces the notion that such kinship ties were believed to be the key to success. They are also a valuable window into a period of social change, happening both in New Zealand and elsewhere, in relation to the role of women in colonial endeavours, rights of property, and marriage. The parallel of the family plot and with the family home serves as a reminder of how the colonial family unit was of the utmost importance in the minds and actions of many towards the success and identity of early Cantabrians. Families worked lived, died, and were memorialised together in their family plots.

Death tore families apart and those left behind had to draw on social networks in the interests of the family unit. Some did not manage or did not have access to such networks and for some families, death claimed all of its members simultaneously. But memorials display the strong emotional responses of family and communities on occasions of loss. As many of the family memorials featured in this chapter show, it was the children that were

[617] Laqueur, 2015, 311.

most often the statistics of death for colonial families. In the next chapter, I will explore how the memorials of Addington Cemetery display the just how often this was faced by the parents of colonial Christchurch, and how memorials communicate emotional investment and methods of coping with such loss.

Chapter Five: *Agnus Dei*–Lamb of God

The loss of children was far more common for the Victorians than we are used to at present and occurred across all classes, though not evenly.[618] The edited collection of letters sent between women in nineteenth-century New Zealand put together by Porter and MacDonald begin to highlight the frequency of the death.[619] This by no means made it any less devastating a loss than what we feel the death of a child to be now.[620] Such a scale of death in present society would impact greatly on family life and individuals personalities.[621] The state of drainage and cleanliness in the Canterbury colony was such that death was often lurking nearby. Memorials that feature children at Addington Cemetery show the extent and give perspective to how often death was faced as part of life in colonial Christchurch. Statistics and written accounts offer insights of the death rates of children in colonial Canterbury but visitors are confronted with the stone cold proof inscribed on memorials at Addington Cemetery. Symbolic features of memorials and their inscriptions give insights on how the death of a child was not only dealt with but understood and justified by colonials in Christchurch. They show the importance that family and religious ideologies had in the grieving process and highlight what may well have been the most important and dangerous activity of all colonial endeavours, childbirth.

On the 16th February 1888 John Charles, the youngest son of Arthur and Charlotte Ellis died in Sydenham at age ten.[622] It must have been a heartbreaking loss but the families

[618] Jalland, 1996, 120; Porter and MacDonald, 451.
[619] Porter and MacDonald.
[620] Jalland, 1996, 119.
[621] Strange, 261.
[622] Star, "Death", *Star,* 17 February, 1888, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18880217.2.9.

grief was not over as less than two weeks later Charlotte also died in her forty-ninth year.[623] The stele erected in their memory is headed with the first three letters of Jesus' name spelt using the Greek alphabet Iota, Eta, Sigma –'Ihs'– which is signifying Christian religion and devotion.[624] Religious belief and its daily practice often provided powerful structures within colonial families that provided consolidation to those coping with death through social interactions and language.[625] As photograph 1 of appendix 5 shows, the inscription commemorating the mother and child is ended, above a space perhaps intended for Arther's own memorialisation, with an epitaph of a single word "*WAITING.*"[626] This single word reflected faith in the Christian belief of Christ's resurrection which served to reduce anger by seeing earthly life as preparation for a better life after death, achieved through resignation to the will of God.[627] The wait for the Ellis family for another loved family member to transcend their earthly life was not long as it was a mere year and a half before their next youngest, William, died at seventeen from what was described as "a short illness".[628] Arthur's wait to join his departed wife and children was more than thirty years, dying in 1921 at Kaiapoi aged eighty-nine, survived by fours sons and three daughters.[629]

The Ellis family memorial is reminiscent of what was an all too familiar story for Victorian and Edwardian families both in Canterbury and the rest of the extensive colonial world. Along with the issues of infectious diseases, complications associated with childbirth, appendicitis, and broken limbs colonial life meant dealing with the hazards of potential

[623] Star, "Death", *Star,* 29 February, 1888, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18880229.2.8.
[624] Keister, 146-147; Appendix 5, Photograph 1.
[625] Jalland, 1996, 142.
[626] Appendix 5, Photograph 1.
[627] Jalland, 1996, 28-29.
[628] Star, "Death", *Star,* 1 August, 1889, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18890801.2.18.
[629] G. R. Macdonald, "Macdonald Dictionary Record: Arthur Ellis", *The G. R. Macdonald Dictionary,* 1952-1964, https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/objects/710775; Press, "Obituary", *Press,* 24 May, 1921, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP19210524.2.66.

shipwreck, bush accidents when falling and hauling trees, and drowning in the seas or surrounding rivers.[630] Death was often swift, striking without warning, particularly threatening to infants and children.[631] For many nineteenth-century families graves and memorials were sites that associated the dead with a particular place, keeping them alive in their memories during a time of intense grief.[632] The high mortality rates of children was a contributing factor to the establishment of large memorials on family plots that could commemorate all of the children lost, although not all listed were necessarily interned there.[633] Nothing quite instils the 'sense of loss' felt when visiting the Addington Cemetery than the sheer number of memorials of infants and children. This is a common finding in cemeteries of this period and shows the harsh reality of life at the fringes of the colonial world.

Cleanliness is next to godliness

The rate of infant mortality was higher in Canterbury than many other areas in New Zealand.[634] For years Christchurch was one of the unhealthiest towns in New Zealand, a significant factor being the swampy nature of the site and subsequent drainage and water-supply problems.[635] From the early 1860s the discovery of an artesian supply of water, and the commissioning of public wells to access it, seemed to be a solution to combat sickness and provide a constant source of clean water.[636] By December 1872, with the dry weather depleting not only resident's private tanks of water but also many of the public wells, the

[630] Porter and MacDonald, 451.
[631] Ibid.
[632] Jalland, 1996, 291.
[633] Deed, 54 & 158.
[634] Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *A new history of Canterbury* (Dunedin: McIndoe, 1982), 44.
[635] Morrison, 58.
[636] Ibid, 53.

Council was faced with providing solutions and regulating waste.[637] While there were few public wells in central city locations those in outlying areas had been provided with no contingency for a time when surface waterways dried up and could not afford to bore their own deep wells.[638] Unless there were multiple properties close together near one of the main routes to Christchurch provincial settlers often had to do their best to cope with drainage between 1850 and 1876.[639] As late as 1877 the City Council still approved of drains being emptied into the Avon River.[640] Morrison describes the sewage disposal of Christchurch as "insufferably primitive" as it was not until 1879 that the beginnings were made on sewer construction, with no proper system in place until 1882.[641]

Early European settlements often lacked clean water supplies and effective sewage disposal which created conditions where infectious disease could rapidly spread.[642] There were few artificial drainage systems in the region, the natural waterways collecting and carrying away surface and storm-water drainage.[643] This was a major issue given early settlers collected water for drinking, cooking, and washing from the same "cleanest looking" river or pool in the area.[644] 'Fevers' would sweep through Canterbury yearly leaving many dead, orphaned, or affected for life.[645] The daily occurrence of fever led to many having to abandon infected homes.[646] In her collection of diaries and letters *Station life in New Zealand* Lady Barker expressed her grief at the loss of her ten-week-old son in May 1866,

[637] Ibid, 54.
[638] Ibid.
[639] Ibid, 53.
[640] Ibid, 59.
[641] Ibid, 50 & 58.
[642] Rice, 3.
[643] Morrison, 50.
[644] Ibid, 53.
[645] Eldred-Grigg, 1982, 45.
[646] Morrison, 58.

"Our loss is one far too common here, I am told: infants born in Christchurch during the Autumn very often die".[647] She stated that given the flatness of the area it was near impossible to get an adequate drainage system in place, and too of the "evil smells" of the evening.[648] Of the seventy burials in the Church of England section of the Barbadoes Street Cemetery her son was the forty-second child under the age of two to be interned that year.[649]

The young in particular were vulnerable to the multitude of diseases in colonial Christchurch such as diphtheria, whooping cough, typhoid, and scarlet fever which could often claim multiple members from a family.[650] Pollock asserts that parents in the nineteenth century would be extremely anxious and distressed when any of their children were ill knowing all too well that even the slightest affliction could result in death.[651] Christchurch was subject to a relatively high death rate during the mid-1870s as diphtheria and typhoid were widespread across the Canterbury province, accompanied by a high infant mortality rate.[652] Porter and MacDonald have noted that the cause of death of the children that would succumb to the many diseases and fevers was often plainly recorded as 'debility', 'convulsions', or 'fever'.[653] There are, however, issues with evidence of epidemics in New Zealand before 1872 as poor practice, misdiagnosis, and under-reporting was still common making it difficult to establish the prevalence of epidemics.[654] While registration of

[647] Barker, 105; Robert C. Lamb, *From the banks of the Avon: the story of a river,* (Wellington: Reed, 1981) 72; Deed, 54.
[648] Barker, 105; Lamb, 72.
[649] Lamb, 71–72; Deed, 54.
[650] Deed, 54.
[651] Pollock, 133.
[652] Coleborne, 499.
[653] Porter and MacDonald, 455.
[654] Geoff Rice, "Epidemics, pandemics and disease control" *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (2011): https://teara.govt.nz/en/epidemics, 2

the European population began in New Zealand in 1848 it was not legislatively enforced until the Vital Registration Act (1874) was passed.[655] From 1875 the registration of births within three days and deaths within three months was made compulsory under the Act.[656] Abortions, and the death of mothers due to complications resulting from the procedure, both before and after this period are difficult to distinguish.[657]

In her study of infant mortality in Auckland, Maureen Molloy shows that subsequent death registers included detailed information of each deceased individual such as name, age and cause of death, sex, place of death, and the attending physician.[658] While the details of individuals deaths are more thoroughly recorded post-1875 are still ambiguous at best. Registers allowed for listing up to a possible three different causes of death.[659] Nineteenth-century doctors often were unable to distinguish diseases that had similar symptoms like diphtheria, scarlet fever, and measles.[660] Deaths were classified under one of five fairly broad categories: sepsis; haemorrhage; toxaemia; medical, and unclear.[661] The official cause of an infant's death was at times simply recorded as diarrhoea or 'want of breast milk' when it was more likely to have been something like typhoid.[662] In 1874 approximately 135 out of a thousand infants born in the area died under the age of twelve months.[663] But the statistics and surviving first-hand accounts do not have the same impact that the cemetery memorials have. Photograph 2 of appendix 5 shows the Brown family memorial.[664] James

[655] Maureen Molloy, "Maternal and Infant Mortality in Auckland, 1870-1930," *New Zealand Journal of History* 51, no. 1 (2017): 69.
[656] Molloy, 69.
[657] Ibid, 68-70.
[658] Ibid.
[659] Ibid
[660] Rice, 2.
[661] See Molloy, 70.
[662] Rice, 2.
[663] Eldred-Grigg, 1982, 44.
[664] Appendix 5, Photograph 2.

and Mary Brown lost four of their children between 1873 and 1890; Helen at three weeks, Elsie at six weeks, Thomas at ten weeks, and the oldest, William, reaching two and a half years of age.[665] Again and again, their children are listed. Photograph 2 of appendix 5 shows the large family stele on which they are memorialised together above the words "severed only till he come", a sign of their religious devotion and the belief in life after death through the atonement and resurrection of Christ.[666]

Per one hundred deaths throughout New Zealand in 1887 over half are recorded as one of the various categories of diseases being the cause.[667] Children under twelve were often afflicted with respiratory and diarrhoeal diseases while, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and poliomyelitis affected all well into the twentieth century.[668] As most parents were well aware of the frequency of death for children, rather than remaining emotionally detached, they were in a heightened state of anxiety during illness and anguish at death.[669] Although there was growing uncertainty in the late Victorian period towards the Christian faith and death was attributed to disease rather than divine intervention, religion still played a prevalent role in views towards death as Victorian doctors still had a limited power to cure the ill.[670] Many tended to avoid medical intervention preferring to rely on 'self-care and neighbourly co-operation'.[671] Not until the 1930s with the development of modern 'miracle' were medical practitioners about to affectively cure a wide range of disease.[672]

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[665] Appendix 5, Photograph 2.
[666] Jalland, 1996, 265; Appendix 5, Photograph 2.
[667] "Report on the Statistics of New Zealand, 1889," Statistics New Zealand, accessed March 28, 2018, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1889-official-handbook/1889-official-handbook.html?_ga=2.261887439.31712532.1522191758-587943343.1522191758#d50e9547.
[668] Porter and MacDonald, 455.
[669] Pollock, 140.
[670] Jalland, 1996, 6.
[671] Coleborne, 493.
[672] Jalland, 1996, 6.

In a report released by the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* businessman and doctor, Alfred Newman, in 1883 asserted that New Zealand had "the lowest death-rate of any country in the world".[673] Newman argued that improvements to sanitation and hygiene could reduce many of the health issues colonists faced.[674] While the majority of immigrants were strong and healthy, sick immigrants often came at the recommendation of British physicians to take advantage of the general climate and conditions in New Zealand.[675] There were no 'new' diseases in New Zealand, those that impacted the colonial and indigenous Māori populations were brought by the immigrant Europeans.[676] *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand* listed New Zealand specific diseases as: the bite of the katipo spider; the eating of poisonous berries, mushrooms, and plants; stoke from contact with *Gymnotus electricus*, the electric eel; and eating rancid, rotten, or out of season food, seen as an issue "peculiar" to Māori.[677]

The dangerous task of birth

Fertility rates during the nineteenth century were higher in New Zealand than those of Britain.[678] Between the 1870s and 1900s birth rates in colonial families underwent a rapid decline, reaching a low point in the 1930s.[679] In late nineteenth-century Britain and Ireland this decline also has been measure, along with evidence of increased practice of birth

[673] Coleborne, 497; Alfred K. Newman & F. W. Frankland, "Is New Zealand a Healthy Country? – An Enquiry with Statistics", *Transactions and Proceeding of the New Zealand Institute 1882,* xv. (Wellington: Lyon and Blair, 1882) 510.
[674] Coleborne, 497; Newman & Frankland, 510.
[675] Coleborne, 497; See James Beattie, "Temperate New Zealand and Tropical Asia: Health, Colonization and Conservation, 1840–1900", In *Asia in the Making of New Zealand,* ed. Henry Johnson & Brian Moloughney (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2007) 36–37.
[676] Coleborne, 497.
[677] Newman & Frankland, 497.
[678] Ian Pool, Arunachalam Dharmalingam, & Janet Sceats, *The New Zealand Family from 1840: A Demographic History,* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2007): 59.
[679] Ibid, 19 & 57.

control methods.[680] Canterbury had incredibly high birth rates, although childbirth was a dangerous prospect and the death rate was also high.[681] In the first year of life, particularly in the first three months, infants were at risk of deadly infection.[682] In the final decades of the nineteenth-century approximately one in ten infants born in New Zealand died before reaching twelve months of age.[683] The majority were homebirths, hospitals only stepping in if a mother was extremely distressed and nursing homes only aided a minority.[684] Medical and obstetric care of the period could be dangerous to health rather than helpful, many well-off women opting to give birth away from hospitals.[685] Hospitals in the Victorian period were intended to be used by the paupers of society, those that could afford to consult private physicians did so.[686] New Zealand hospitals became institutes of training for nurses by the 1880s, reflecting the change elsewhere in the empire.[687] The Registration Act of 1901 introduced formal training, with this the profession also became increasingly feminised.[688] Those well of may have a doctor while the poor would have to make do, possible using a midwife, although competence on both sides often varied.[689] Eldred-Grigg states that while some placed importance on "cleanliness, sympathy and benign herbal poultices; others were drunken bullies who plied their patient with opium".[690]

While the rates of childbirth were much higher it would have been a time of great anxiety for all. Given the limitations of Victorian medicine opiates and alcohol were often

[680] Ibid, 61.
[681] Eldred-Grigg, 1982, 44.
[682] Strange, 250.
[683] Coleborne, 494.
[684] Eldred-Grigg, 1982, 44.
[685] Pool, Dharmalingam, & Sceats, 91.
[686] Coleborne, 493.
[687] Ibid, 494.
[688] Ibid.
[689] Eldred-Grigg, 1982, 44.
[690] Ibid.

utilised by practitioners in order to reduce pain and discomfort.[691] Cleanliness was certainly an issue but inadequate shelter, the health of mothers, and diet were contributing factors.[692] The rich were putting themselves at risk through excess consumption while the poor suffered at the edge of malnutrition.[693] There was a widespread practice of adulteration of food by manufactures in colonial Canterbury.[694] A citizen described the bleak situation in 1875 signing as 'DEATH IN THE POT': "Our beer and spirits are drugged, our milk watered and whitened, our bread bleached with alum, and numberless other trade tricks and dodges which sink enormous profits into the pockets of the manufacturers and vendors…."[695] It was not until the Adulteration of Food Act of 1880 that any law regarding food quality was effectively enforced, perhaps due to the close relationship between political figures and brewers, bakers, and merchants.[696] As late as 1900 a report by The Sanitary Committee advised the need for a Medical officer and Sanitary Inspector, the Selwyn County Council having stressed the need for a Medical Officer ten years earlier.[697] The report urged that wooden drains should not be constructed, rats should be destroyed, observation of rights of way in the city be adhered to, and milk to be tested.[698] Morrison perhaps best summarised the situation: "The story of reluctant and often futile attempts to improve the state of health in Christchurch is not a pleasant one."[699] By all accounts life truly was hard with the odds seemingly set against all too some degree on a daily basis.

[691] Jalland, 1996, 6.
[692] Eldred-Grigg, 1982, 44.
[693] Ibid, 45.
[694] Ibid.
[695] Quoted in Eldred-Grigg, 45.
[696] Eldred-Grigg, 1982, 45.
[697] Morrison, 60.
[698] Ibid.
[699] Ibid, 61.

It was often expected that over the course of their numerous pregnancies that most women would lose at least one or two children.[700] Out of every ten children a woman might have it was probable that two would die before the age of five.[701] The high rate of childbirth carried an additional risk for mothers as many lost not only children but also their own lives.[702] Photograph 14 of appendix 5 is revealing of the impact of this on the Moss family.[703] Birthing complications and deaths shroud struck the Moss family with ferocity. On the 12th March 1887 Emma Georgina Moss (nee Boolischer) died nineteen days after giving birth to twin boys, Harold and Leonard, from puerperal fever.[704] This left her husband Thomas to take care of seven children all under the age of ten.[705] Two weeks later death came for her infant son Harold as well.[706] This was not a singular case of birthing issues for the Moss family, the memorial listing two of the children as stillborn.[707] Stillborn births meant the likelihood of infection to mothers was increased due to the potential of difficult labours and the manual extraction of the foetus.[708]

A child that breathed at birth was legally considered as live-born whereas a stillborn child was one that was not breathing before passing the birth canal.[709] The burial cost of

[700] Stevan Eldred-Grigg, "'The Beauty and Fashon of the Province': Women of the Landed Gentry of Canterbury 1880-1910" in *Provincial Perspectives: Essays in Honour of W. J. Gardner,* ed. Len Richardson & W. David McIntyre (Christchurch: Whitcoulls Ltd, 1980): 87.
[701] Eldred-Grigg, 1982, 44.
[702] Eldred-Grigg, 1980, 87; Brookes, 57.
[703] Appendix 5, Photograph 14.
[704] "Emma Georgina Moss", *Geni,* accessed April 11, 2018, https://www.geni.com/people/Emma-Moss/6000000015762467757?through=6000000015880955861#/tab/overview; "New Zealand Death Certificate: Emma Georgina Moss", Registration Number: 1887001483, https://www.geni.com/documents/view?doc_id=6000000020467469909&; Appendix 5, Photograph 14.
[705] "Emma Georgina Moss", https://www.geni.com/people/Emma-Moss/6000000015762467757?through=6000000015880955861#/tab/overview; "New Zealand Death Certificate: Emma Georgina Moss".
[706] "Harold Anthony (Twin) Moss", *Geni,* accessed April 11, 2018, https://www.geni.com/people/Harold-Moss/6000000015880955861.
[707] Appendix 5, Photograph 14.
[708] Molly, 70.
[709] Strange, 239.

burying a child deemed as live-born, no matter how short they lived, was much higher than that of a stillborn child.[710] Some parents attempted to avoid burial costs, not surprising given feelings of being bitterly cheated of the life of their child.[711] While some parents may have had questionable motives others likely were simply trying to avoid burial costs.[712] It was not unknown for sympathetic gravediggers to place the remains of dead babies alongside unrelated adults.[713] Most illicit burials of babies' occurred in cemeteries, suggesting that it was still seen as the appropriate place of burial.[714] The Reverend Charles Fraser noted this as being an issue reported to police at Addington Cemetery.[715] Victorian and Edwardian women were fearful after childbirth of the potential to developing puerperal fever, the frequency of which was staggering.[716] It was fatal in up to eighty per cent of cases and could often be attributed to negligence, which some physicians attempted to hide and others were simply reluctant to accept they might be responsible.[717] Vague descriptions and the practice of listing more than one cause of death were used to cover the trail, only the primary cause of death was statistically published.[718] In Britain it accounted for half of the maternal mortalities from 1885-94 and often left women that survived in a seriously weakened condition for years to follow.[719]

[710] Ibid, 240.
[711] Ibid.
[712] Ibid, 241.
[713] Ibid.
[714] Ibid, 243.
[715] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 17.
[716] Patricia Jalland & John Hooper, *Women from Birth to Death: The Female Life Cycle in Britain, 1830-1914,* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J: Humanities Press International, 1986) 121 & 187-203; Fraser, 2012, 110.
[717] Molly, 70-71; Irvine Loudon, "The Measurement of Maternal Mortality: 1880-1950. Some Regional and International Comparisons," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 54, no. 2 (1999): 312-329.
[718] See Loudon, 325-326.
[719] Jalland & Hooper, 1986, 121.

Such is life and death

There are numerous memorials dedicated solely to children found throughout the grounds of the Addington Cemetery. Furthermore, it is difficult to find a family plot that does not make mention of the loss of an infant or young child, more often than not mentioning many. Memory and the association of these children to material objects maintain social relations between the living and the dead in the absence of childhood.[720] Religions devotion served as a source of consolidation to the grieving which is expressed through the choice of inscriptions for epitaphs and use of religious iconography on memorials. This is a reflection of Christian devotional literature prevalent across the British Empire.[721] They communicate the emotional battle of parents attempting to come to terms with the death of a child. As deed notes, monument size and cost is not always a direct reflection of the wealth or status of those they memorialise.[722] The shape, size, and composition of memorials are not simply practical but often symbolic of the stature of children. As many of the photographs in appendix 5 display, monuments solely dedicated to the memory of children in the Addington Cemetery tend to be much smaller in size than those dedicated to adults or the large family markers. This is symbolic of the stature of those that they memorialise.

As photograph 3 and 4 of appendix 5 show, even inscriptions can elude to the stature of the individual they memorialise, as in the case of those for “LITTLE ELSIE” aged three and a half or the six-year-old “LITTLE MICHAEL”.[723] They are generally less than fifty

[720] Hallam & Hockey, 86-87.
[721] Jalland, 1996, 12; Fraser, 2012, 115.
[722] Deed, 73.
[723] Appendix 5, Photograph 3 & 4.

centimetres in height and of modest design. Trapeznik and Gee note that even simple gravestones were far more expensive than a typical funeral.[724] The small size of an infant or young child lent itself to the use of alternative methods of burial and memorialisation, mirroring that of older children or adults.[725] Such improvisations allowed for claims of parents not investing emotionally in infants.[726] As with adults, the style and scale of funerary monuments of children tend to relate to their period and what was considered appropriate to spend rather than what could be afforded.[727] Even the seemingly simplistic design of the eight-month-old Clarice's memorial, shown in photograph 5 of appendix 5, is by no means insignificant but a statement of the deep feelings of despair experienced by her parents and a wish to communicate their fitness as parents in a spiritual and material manner.[728]

The death of the young was far harder to come to terms with than that of the elderly, whose final moments often could be prepared for.[729] Lawrence Stone has asserted that there was reduced emotional investment in response to the high mortality rate of children in past centuries.[730] He argues that one result of this was the neglect of infants by parents, greatly diminishing their prospects of survival.[731] Stone argues it is not until what he calls "The Twentieth-century Reversal", beginning around the 1860s or later, that attitudes change as modern medicine all but eliminated death of children and young adults.[732] It is after this change that it is seen as worth investing emotional and economic

[724] Trapeznik & Gee, 2016, 321 & 330.
[725] Strange, 239.
[726] Ibid.
[727] Trapeznik & Gee, 2016, 325.
[728] Appendix 5, Photograph 5.
[729] Jalland, 1996, 119.
[730] Stone, 651-652.
[731] Ibid, 652.
[732] Ibid, 680.

capital to develop long-lasting bonds.[733] A degree of immunity is thought to have partly been attributed to the high birth rates that replaced those lost with intense frequency.[734] Perhaps evidence in support of Stone is the fact that emotion is variable across cultures, as such it would have not likely remained stable through time.[735]

Strange, who focuses on late Victorian and early Edwardian Britain, points out that historical analysis conducted in the 1980s of Victorian infant death has often reiterated the moral panic of infanticide by poorer parents as a means of financial gain.[736] The high infant mortality rates were often accompanied with accusations of baby-farming, infanticide, and wilful neglect.[737] There were some men that blamed their wives for the death of their children.[738] A 'good' mother worked hard to care for her children, their death might be seen as wilful neglect and her failure as a parent.[739] "Mock-sentiment" was thought by some to have been an easy way to conceal the death of a child.[740] Although some may have been inadequate parents the fact remains that the vast majority did their best in a situation where the odds were against them.[741] Wohl notes that in Victorian Britain there was widespread belief that some parents deliberately killed their children by suffocation.[742] It is likely that many of the occurring Sudden Infant Death Syndrome cases could well have been what we now know to be 'crib deaths'.[743] Many accounts were exaggerated due to a tendency for "comfortable Victorians to believe the very worst of the masses."[744] Such

[733] Ibid, 680-681.
[734] Strange, 230.
[735] Tarlow, 2000, 719.
[736] Strange, 230-232.
[737] Ibid, 230.
[738] Ibid, 245.
[739] Ibid.
[740] Ibid, 231.
[741] Ibid, 232.
[742] Anthony S. Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain* (London: Dent, 1983): 34.
[743] Wohl, 34.
[744] Ibid, 34; Strange, 261.

views are similar to the "commonsense" understandings common in archaeology that Tarlow is critical of.[745] Stone is right to be critical of emotional responses in the past but he does not make a convincing case for a lack of emotion.

Bereavement on the news of death and calculations of funerary costs, loss of income, and financial security were inseparable, some scholars taking this as evidence of working-class families operating as economic units rather than emotional.[746] The burials at Addington Cemetery all occur around or after this period so definitive comparison there cannot be made. However, the works from Linda Pollock and Pat Jalland has found no notable increase or lack of emotional investment in the early Victorian period as opposed to later in the Edwardian as Stone has suggested.[747] The frequency of which children died was well known to most parents, only increasing anxiety at times of illness and when faced with their death.[748] This reaction to death and illness is something Pollock found to be fairly consistent from the fifth-tenth through to the twentieth centuries.[749] Pollock noted that older children were mourned more deeply than infants in most cases.[750] This would be the best evidence in support of a lack of emotional investment by parents as older children would have assisted around the home or have engaged in paid employment, the mourning therefore due to a loss of labour within the family.[751] Proof of this is problematic and therefore the argument remains unconvincing, responses to the deaths of older and younger children alike is far more likely to have depended on their parents.[752]

[745] Tarlow, 2000,718-719.
[746] Strange, 196.
[747] Linda Pollock, *Forgotten children: Parent-child relations from 1500 to 1900* (New York; Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Jalland, 1996.
[748] Pollock, 140.
[749] Ibid.
[750] Ibid, 141.
[751] Strange, 231.
[752] Ibid, 233.

Importantly, there is no lack of sentiment expressed by the parents of the children memorialised at Addington Cemetery. Ernest Harold Morley, the youngest son of the Methodist Reverend William Morley, died 22nd of July 1882, reportedly from croup. [753] Reverend Morley was regarded as the greatest statesman the church had produced by the New Zealand Methodists, but religious devotion and social position did not provide immunity from death. [754] For the religiously devout a child was only lent to them by God and when reclaimed through death they had no right to object.[755] To the pious Christian anger and depression after the death of a child was symbolic of rebellion against the will of God.[756] As photograph 6 of appendix 5 shows the epitaph dedicated to Ernest is reflective of the religious devotion of his parents. It is headed with the phrase "IN MEMORIAM" and ends with the bible citation "Mathew XI. 26" – "Even so, Father: for so it seemed good in thy sight".[757] The parents of Winifred Mary Hitt, her memorial in photograph 7 of appendix 5, opted for the more commonly known "THY WILL BE DONE" in order to show their submission to the will of God.[758] Garland mentions that in a sense Victorian mourners, Christian or nonbelievers, often sought systems of denial, a common response in the early stages of grief.[759] For nonbelievers individuals may 'live on' in the memories of the living, additionally, spiritualism in late-Victorian England gained popularity as a means of comfort

[753] Globe, "Death", *Globe,* 24 July, 1882, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/GLOBE18820724.2.6; G. R. Macdonald, "Macdonald Dictionary Record: William Morley", *The G. R. Macdonald Dictionary,* 1952-1964, https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/objects/715448.
[754] "Macdonald Dictionary Record: William Morley", https://collection.canterburymuseum.com/objects/715448.
[755] Pollock, 134.
[756] Jalland, 1996, 265-266.
[757] Matthew 11:26; Appendix 5, Photograph 6.
[758] Appendix 5, Photograph 7.
[759] Martha McMackin Garland, "Victorian Unbelief" in *Death, Ritual, and Bereavement,* ed Ralph Houlbrooke (London; New York: Routledge in association with the Social History Society of the United Kingdom, 1989): 159-160.

and understanding.[760] Garland found that even the more liberal Christians seem to have found some comfort in the ideas regarding eternal life, resurrection, and unity in God.[761]

Between heaven and heart

While Christianity was comforting in the belief of eternal life and being reunited in heaven the issue of how a just and loving God could allow for suffering and death in the first place left many troubled, particularly in the case of the premature death of a child.[762] In the devout minds of many Victorian Christians there was no conceivable reason for God to take their children other than as punishment for the parents.[763] The death of a child as a result of punishment from God for their own sins increased the grief experience by devout parents.[764] In Biblical text Abraham's faith in God is tested when the Lord instructs him to build an altar and bind his beloved and only son Isaac, ready to be sacrificed.[765] Religious devotion was a means for parents to cope with the immense grief suffered from this loss, viewed at times as the ultimate test of Christian faith.[766] Ariès argues that often when parents had already lost a child they exercised the reserve of their emotion, not knowing how long God might grant life.[767] This might have been the case when listing children as 'stillborn' as is seen on family memorials such as that of the Moss family memorial in photograph 14 of appendix 5.[768] However, the constant presence of death meant parents

[760] Garland, 160-167.
[761] Ibid, 160.
[762] Jalland, 1996, 265.
[763] Ibid, 120.
[764] Ibid, 265.
[765] Genesis 22.
[766] Fraser, 2012, 155-119; Jalland, 1996, 122.
[767] Ariès, 1981, 447.
[768] Appendix 5, Photograph 14.

simply had no choice other than to face and come to terms with it. Children dying was just an unfortunate and difficult part of life.

Another way of justifying the loss of the young was through the belief of a benevolent God sparing these innocent children from a world of suffering and temptation.[769] The memorial, in photograph 8 of appendix 5, of the three young Bryan girls makes reference to the bible, "SUFFER LITTLE CHILDREN TO COME UNTO ME", an adaptation displaying their parent's spiritual willingness to accept their departure.[770] In expressing acceptance this is made visibly both to those performing the act and to those that witness it.[771] Sorrow, like other forms of suffering, was often seen to have spiritual value, bring one closer to God and purifying the soul.[772] The biblical text encourages parents to accept the death of their children as the will of God, taking comfort that they were now in his care. For the parents of Muriel Corderly it was Jesus that called for their darling child, aged seven months, as is described on her memorial in photograph 9 of appendix 5.[773] As the epitaph suggests, they drew comfort that little Muriel was now "SAFE IN HIS ARMS".[774] In addition to the expressions of religious devotion and comfort it brought, such memorials can be interpreted as statements of membership to the colonial Christian community.

Emotional experiences can be both complex and contradictory.[775] Obituaries and epitaphs of the memorials of individual children are revealing regarding the conflict between parental anxiety and religious belief. Belief can be a propelling reason for not

[769] Fraser, 2012, 115; Jalland, 1996, 122-123.
[770] Matthew 19:14; Appendix 5, Photograph 8.
[771] Roy A. Rappaport, "Enactments of meaning", in *A Reader of the Anthropology of Religion 2nd Edition,* ed. Michael Lambek (Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 2008): 417.
[772] Jalland, 1996, 265.
[773] Appendix 5, Photograph 9.
[774] Appendix 5, Photograph 9.
[775] Tarlow, 2000, 728.

accepting.[776] Pollock found this state of conflict to have been evident through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also, not merely a reflection of changes occurring in the late nineteenth century as stone argues.[777] They reveal the deep concern parents had for their children's physical and spiritual wellbeing. Such was the case for the parents of Theodore Small whose memorial, in photograph 10 of appendix 5, records his death on 28th April 1904.[778] Theodore's obituary reads "beloved son of S. M. and S. Small, after twelve months' illness, borne with great patience; aged ten years and eleven months".[779] For so long the young Theodore had suffered and all the while his parents were utter helplessness. The reality that an ugly or bad death was not only reserved for sinners and unbelievers, as fiction dictated, was known all too well.[780] Many diseases made Victorian and Edwardian ideas of death difficult, or even impossible, although those that took time to kill could be seen as a way of achieving spiritual readiness, a thought that may have provided Theodore's parents with some comfort.[781] Further, the memorial includes the phrase "A SUNBEAM FOR JESUS".[782] It was around this time that the children's Sunday-school hyme *Jesus wants me for a sunbeam,* written by Nellie Talbot circa 1900, became popularised.[783] It is a reference to children as a display of the great creations of God, there worth, and devotion as servitude.[784]

[776] Rappaport, 417.
[777] Pollock, 133; Stone, 680-681.
[778] Appendix 5, Photograph 10.
[779] Press, "Deaths", *Press,* 29 April, 1904, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP19040429.2.2.3.
[780] Jalland, 1996, 59.
[781] Ibid, 41.
[782] Appendix 5, Photograph 10.
[783] "Nellie Talbot", The Canterbury Dictionary of HYMNOLOGY, accessed May 15, 2018, https://hymnology.hymnsam.co.uk/n/nellie-talbot.
[784] Matthew 5:16. "Jesus Wants Me for a Sunbeam", The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, accessed May 15, 2018, https://www.lds.org/music/library/childrens-songbook/jesus-wants-me-for-a-sunbeam?lang=eng.

When analysing such displays it is important to consider and remember that acceptance and belief are not the same.[785] Belief is private and an internal state, whereas acceptance is a public act.[786] Something that is commonly accepted might be publicly visible but there are often clues that allude to an internal state of belief. Amidst a time of growing uncertainty toward Christianity it is then of little surprise that those with the means to publicly display their acceptance and apparent belief, as well as some who have analysed this in more contemporary times, may be critical of those that did not have the means to do so. Perhaps to them this was a very public affirmation of what they privately felt but could not openly express.

Yet some parents did express and draw comfort from a belief in children taken from life from a result of divine intentions. From the viewpoint of the devout Victorian Christian, the living and the dead were separated by their earthly and heavenly locations, though with the belief they will eventually be reunified.[787] During the nineteenth-century the previously held belief in everlasting punishment in hell was in decline, many theologians viewing this to be incompatible with a Just and loving God.[788] Rappaport notes that some use the notion of participation or performance not necessarily reflecting an inward state of conformity as a means of criticising religion.[789] However, acceptance might be displayed performativity independent of belief which can serve as a means of defying doubt through practice and action.[790] Insincerity does not mean that there is a lack of acceptance.[791] As a secular nation we need only look to the first line of the national anthem of New Zealand "God of

[785] Rappaport, 417.
[786] Ibid.
[787] Hallam & Hockey, 85-86; Jalland, 1996, 265-283.
[788] Jalland, 1996, 266.
[789] Rappaport, 417.
[790] Ibid.
[791] Ibid, 418.

Nations…" to be reminded of the influence of Christianity, and the protection of God, that is performative in the lives of many a non-believer. Employing the use of symbols achieves, and is expected to achieve predetermined goals.[792] "Hence practice implies system."[793] In the observed cases of expressions of grief and remembrance the act of performance in itself might be a powerful source of consolidation in response to loss. In some sense then sentiment, mock or genuine, is sentiment nonetheless.

Family plots at Addington Cemetery not only provide a single location where living family members can frequent to express their grief and pay homage to their loved ones, but it also demonstrates the significance of the unity of the colonial family and the belief, or at least the hopes of, being reunited in the afterlife. The Snedden family memorial, in photograph 13 of appendix 5, is inscribed with a variation of a passage from the book of Psalms, "YEA THOUGH I WALK IN DEATH'S DARK VALE, YET WILL I FEAR NONE ILL: THOU ART WITH ME; AND THY ROD AND STAFF ME COMFORT STILL."[794] As the memorial shows, death's vale had indeed been cast over the Snedden family taking six of the children of Maria and David before their own deaths, three of which were on subsequent years, all under the age of sixteen.[795] The faint traces of carved vine climbing over the memorial is a common feature on family monuments. Vines are considered as powerful symbols signifying the relationship between God and man.[796] Ivy is particularly common and fitting in a colonial environment. Even in harsh conditions, Ivy is eternally green, which makes for its association to immortality and fidelity.[797] It is symbolic of attachment, friendship, and undying affection

[792] Sewell, 164.
[793] Ibid.
[794] Psalms 23:4; Appendix 5, Photograph 13.
[795] Appendix 5, Photograph 13.
[796] Keister, 59.
[797] Ibid, 57.

in the way that it clings to supports.[798] It's commonly three-pointed leaves also makes it symbolic of the Holy Trinity.[799]

Christianity provided comfort to mourners with the belief in the resurrection of the soul and heavenly family reunion.[800] Many inscriptions are revealing of the hopes and beliefs of parents to once more see their children upon their own enviable death. Thomas and Mary Jane Banfield expressed their deep regret over the death of their youngest and beloved daughter Ellen in the local newspapers obituaries.[801] Photograph 11 of appendix 5 shows weathered but readable epitaph containing the phrase "ASLEEP IN JESUS", her parent's hopeful of her soul's resurrection.[802] Similar, in photograph 12 of appendix 5, is the memorial of Lillian Rebecca Newton, her epitaph claiming "NOT DEAD BUT SLEEPING".[803] This was not an expression of her family's denial or inability to come to terms with her death, rather there deep hopes and religious belief in their eventual reunification and eternal life together.

Many scholars have recognised that it was through religious devotion and the everyday practice of Christianity that Victorians and Edwardians managed to cope with the death of children.[804] Jalland states that the public nature of memorials of the deaths of children speaks of a time where the loss of children was commonly felt, either within the family or amongst friends, serving as a source of consolidation and Christian faith.[805]

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[798] Ibid.
[799] Ibid.
[800] Jalland, 1996, 265.
[801] Star, "DEATHS", *Star,* 18 August, 1897, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18970818.2.25; Lyttelton Times, "DEATHS.", *Lyttelton Times,* 18 August, 1897, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/LT18970818.2.2.3.
[802] Appendix 5, Photograph 11.
[803] Appendix 5, Photograph 12.
[804] Jalland, 1996, 119-142; Fraser, 2012, 115-119.
[805] Jalland, 1996, 142.

Certainly, it would seem that sentiment over the loss of these children tugs at the heartstrings of the modern citizens of the city. This is something that photographs 15 to 17 of appendix 5 highlight.[806] As they show, on occasion, there can be found grave goods such as small toys left in more recent times possibly by a surviving relative or perhaps a passing well-wisher moved by the memorial of 'life cut short'.[807] The placement of material objects relating to childhood can be viewed as an echo of the nineteenth-century post-mortem photographs of children with their toys.[808] They are representative of the poignant nature of death for those graves they adorn, bring the nursery to graveside as though their life continues.[809] The act of reading inscriptions by modern visitors can instil a sense of personal identification with the interned, resulting in empathy with the feelings of loss and grief.[810]

Summary

Memorials featuring children are confronting and at times might even be overwhelming to contemporary visitors. The images of early Canterbury described in historical accounts may seem bleak, or even utterly hopeless, for the prospect of raising children. Despite high mortality rates of infants and young children, parent's hopes that they would survive were not deterred.[811] As Strange reminds us, across the British Empire, even in the areas with the worst mortality rates, many children did survive and go on to reach adulthood.[812] Indeed this was the case for many in colonial Christchurch as well. With the improvements to medicine and general public health at the end of the nineteenth-

[806] Appendix 5, Photograph 15-17.
[807] Appendix 5, Photograph 15-17.
[808] Hallam & Hockey, 88.
[809] Ibid.
[810] Simon, 19.
[811] Strange, 262.
[812] Ibid.

century theories that linked disease and poverty to bad parenting and a lack of empathy waned.[813] Christian beliefs and deathway practices give insight into how the living came to terms with the loss of children memorialised in the Addington Cemetery.

Through religious belief death could be seen as salvation and an end to suffering for sick children. It could be viewed as an act of mercy with the prospect of reunion in heaven, giving meaning to the tragic premature death.[814] Death was omnipresent and it was through religious devotion that parents were able to justify and cope with the loss of children. Evidence of the emotional investment by parents for their children during this period is visible through how children have been memorialised at the Addington Cemetery both with individual and family memorials. From the small individual markers to the large family stele, providing a physical location in memory of lost loved ones, the evidence is there in the heartfelt epitaphs expressing emotional turmoil, the Christian iconography and references to scripture assuring the mourning that hope is not lost, and through the promise of heavenly reunion. Children were important to the success of colonial families. Many parents had other children to consider leaving little time to be caught up in grief. They simply had to find it within themselves to carry the memory of the Lord's little lambs and go on with life, and that they did.

[813] Ibid, 261.
[814] Jalland, 1996, 123.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to examine the remnant landscape of Christchurch's historic Addington Cemetery, a site displaying both individual and collective social memory. By closely analysing the remnant landscape of Addington Cemetery this research highlights colonial attitudes towards death, memorial practices, and the dynamics of local society in Victorian and early Edwardian Christchurch. The symbolic and written forms of monuments at the Addington Cemetery have been central to this as they convey memory, history, and tell the story of life in colonial Christchurch. The use of symbolic gesture in monuments, inscriptions, and plants reflects the social and cultural preferences of the time. This articulates the various and sometimes conflicting Christian beliefs concerning life, death, and possible eternal life. They highlight Addington Cemetery as a place that has local, national, and transnational connections and significance.

The approach of this research was to examine the material evidence and the available written and digital sources in order to begin making connections between the symbolic and material dimensions of Addington Cemetery. This historical ethnography has drawn on the material remnants to provide a deeper understanding of the lives and deaths of those memorialised. A great deal of time was spent analysing the memorials throughout Addington Cemetery and reading accounts, wills, and obituaries. Often longer than anticipated, or intended, as it is easy to get caught up in the stories of those that are memorialised, not all of which was able to be included in this thesis. This revealed intimate details of the lives of families and individuals, including; the overtness of ethnic roots, the negotiation of family positions and broader society, and the overwhelming numbers in which children died.

Demographers have looked extensively at Victorian and Edwardian migration from Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the expansive colonial world to Canterbury. Passenger lists recall the origins of those that were laid to rest in Addington Cemetery, but the inscription and distinct symbolism found on monuments proclaim the ethnic roots of the dead. They echo colonial voices and are an overt display of their diverse ethnic roots and routes. There is expansive historical work that has drawn on the literature and other written sources of the period such as wills, biographies, and accounts from newspapers. It gives us an insight into the economic and emotional support the colonial family unit had, but including analysis of their memorials takes this further. Support extended to death and memorials display the intimacy of family ties. The memorials of Addington Cemetery show how these ties were used to cope with life on the colonial fringes. Statistics and first-hand accounts might tell us of the frequency that Victorian and early Edwardians in Christchurch confronted death, but their memorials slap us in the face with stone-cold proof. This gives a deeper insight into the emotional responses the grieving would have themselves experienced and were publically communicating. At Addington Cemetery nothing emphasises this more than the memorials dedicated to, or featuring, children.

With archival information increasingly being accessible digitally, there is a need for historic cemetery records to be recorded in a similar manner. For Addington Cemetery this has been done in part with the *Christchurch City Council Cemeteries Database* but it is lacking a major element, images of the memorials themselves.[815] Given the damage too many and the continued effects of time and weather, I assert that the need to document the memorials of Addington Cemetery in its entirety is urgent. This was also a

[815] "Christchurch City Council Cemeteries Database."

recommendation by Burgess, McKenzie, and May, of Opus, when compiling the Addington Cemetery Management Plan in 2005.[816] Fourteen years on this is still required or the loss of a source of significant information pertaining to colonial Christchurch might occur. This could be done as part of a larger research project that would continue to build on what I have aimed to begin with this thesis.

The main contribution of this thesis is beginning to provide more depth to our understandings of remembrance and commemoration in historic cemeteries. In examining the archival information in relation to the symbolic and material dimensions of Addington Cemetery deeper understanding of the emotions of those in the past has been presented. I have spent hours on hours reading through the obituaries, statistics, and archives but they just do not capture or convey the importance of displaying ethnic roots, family identity, or the overwhelming expressions of grief at loss that the memorials at Addington Cemetery manages to project. But they also express faith, belief, and hope in the face of death.

[816] Burgess, McKenzie, & May, 2005.

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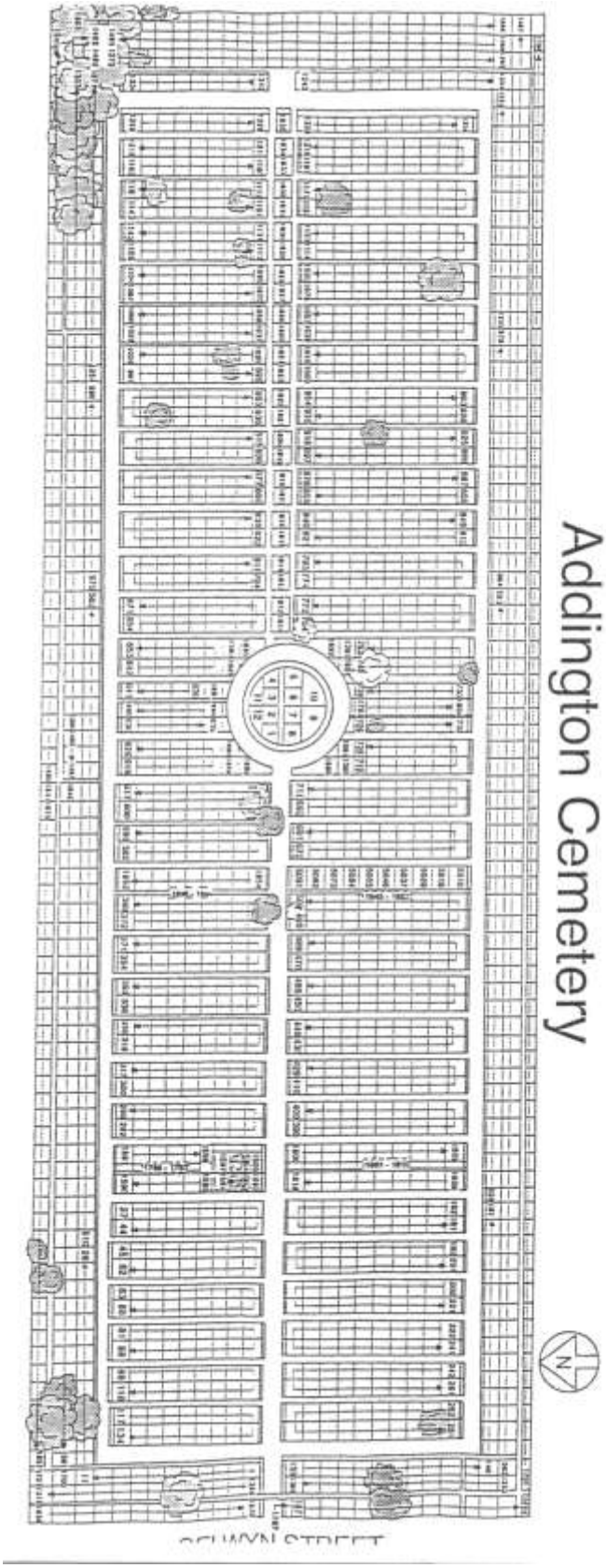
Appendix 1



"Addington Cemetery plot map", Christchurch City Libraries, Retrieved August 25, 2019.

Appendix 2

Photograph 1

Photograph 2

Photograph 3

Photograph 4

Photograph 5

Photograph 6

Photograph 7

Photograph 8

Photograph 9

Appendix 3

Photograph 1

Photograph 2

Photograph 3

Photograph 4

Photograph 5

Photograph 6

Photograph 7

Photograph 8

Photograph 9

Photograph 10

Photograph 11

Photograph 12

Photograph 13

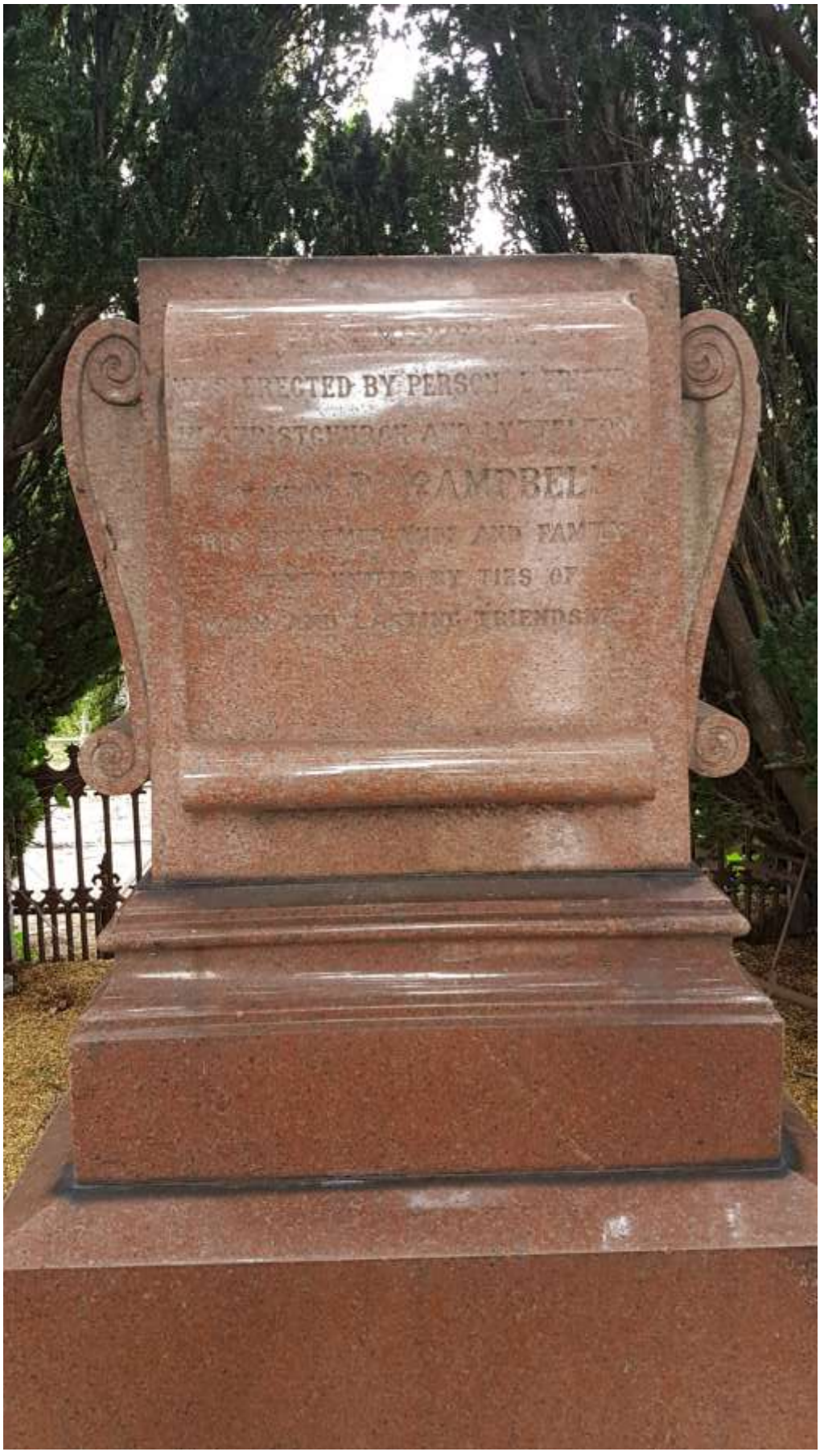
Photograph 14

Photograph 15

Photograph 16

Photograph 17

Photograph 18



Photograph 19

Photograph 20

Photograph 21

Photograph 22

Photograph 23

Photograph 24

Photograph 25

Photograph 26

Photograph 27

Appendix 4

Photograph 1

Photograph 2

Photograph 3

Photograph 4

Photograph 5

Photograph 6

Photograph 7

Photograph 8

Photograph 9

Photograph 10

Photograph 11

Photograph 12

Photograph 13

Photograph 14

Photograph 15

Appendix 5

Photograph 1

Photograph 2

Photograph 3

Photograph 4

Photograph 5

Photograph 6

Photograph 7

Photograph 8

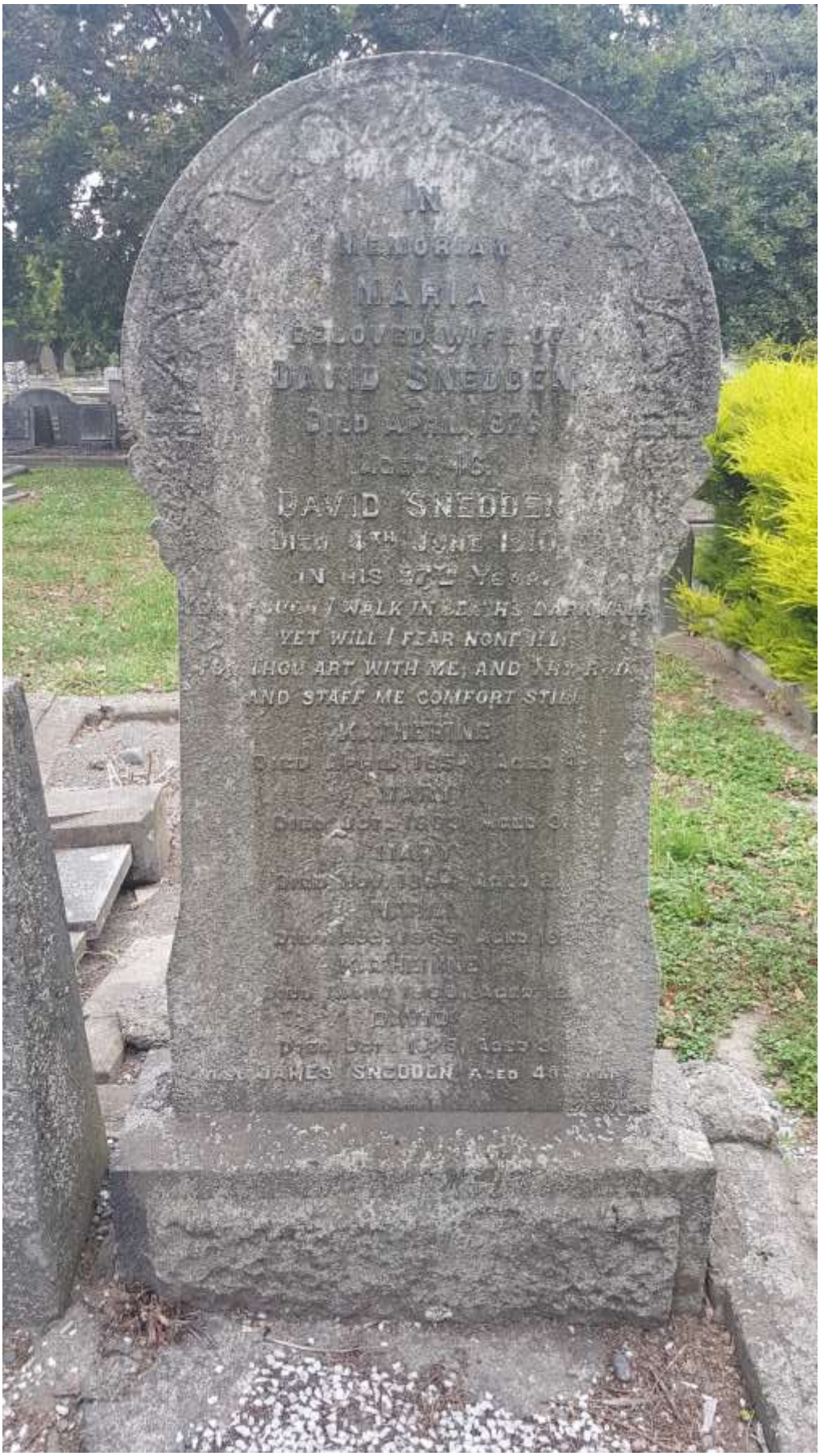
Photograph 9

Photograph 10

Photograph 11

Photograph 12

Photograph 13



Photograph 14

Photograph 15

Photograph 16

Photograph 17